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Estienne, H

36 **KATHERINE de MEDICIS,** Ane MERUELLOUS DISCOURS vpon the LYFE, DEIDES, and BEHAUIOURS of, Quene Mother; wherein are displayed the meanes which sche hath practised to atteyne vnto the vsurping of the Kingdome of France, and to the bringing of the state of the same vnto vtter ruyne, 18mo. *calf extra, by* LEWIS (*some headlines and margins slightly shorn, otherwise a* FINE CLEAN COPY), VERY RARE, [redacted] *Imprinted at Paris*, 1576

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ANE Meruellous diſcours

Vpon the lyfe, deides, and behauiours of Katherine de Medicis, Quene Mother: wherein are diſplayed the meanes which ſche hath practiſed to atteyne vnto the vſurping of the Kingdome of France, and to the bringing of the ſtate of the ſame vnto vtter ruyne.

Imprinted at Paris.

1576.

THE Gouernment of Katherine de Medicis Quene of France.

LYKE as it is moſt profitable that the liues & deides of all publict perſons, Authors of any notable ſtute or commoditie in this world, ſhuld moſt faithfully and diligently be writtin aſwel to recompence their trauellis, as alſo to be an exampill & mouer of others to the imbraſing of vertew in time to cum: euin ſo I verely ſuppois it to be wiſhed, that the memorials of ſuch perſonis as do delite or tak paines in doing of miſcheif, or cõmitting of euill, ſhuld be buried in perpetuall obliuion, thereby partly to puniſhe their wickednes and vice, partly alſo to tak from all men (who of thé ſelues are more then ſufficiently inclyned to euil) each patern of miſcheif, whoſe example they might the ſoner frame them ſelues vnto: vpon

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this occaſion haue I ſo long refrained from publiſhing the deteſtable doingis of Katherine de Medicis, at this preſent vſurping the Name and Authoritie of Regent of our miſerable Kingdõe of France, as of one who is an aſſured patern in her publict actions, of all kynde of cruell tyrãnie, but in her priuate dealinges, of all ſortes of vice & wickednes, hereupon I ſay I haue ſomewhat douted to ſoile my handes in ſuch villannous and fylthie mater: Howbeit finally with my ſelf conſidering that ſhe yet liueth, and not onſy liueth, but alſo ruleth all thinges according vnto thoſe paſſions which do gouerne her ſelfe, yea, and now vnder a title preſumpteouſly vſurped, will keip vs in ſubiection and continew her accuſtomed whipping and tormentinge of vs, without that any of vs ſheweth ſemblant of feilling the ſame, much lyke as if with her enforceled drinkes ſhe had bewitched vs and tranſformed vs into the ſhappes and conditions of brute beaſtes, or rather depriued vs of our ſences: by this conſideration am I conſtrained leauing all doutes to binde my ſelf to ſet my hand vnto this worke, althogh vnwillingly, to the end to open vnto euerie mannis view, what ſhe is who keipeth vs in her clawes, alſo by her former deidis to let them know what heirafter we may luke for, vnles our ſelues do procure ſome meanes of our owen delyuerance from the ſame. I do not heirin pretend (as God is my witnes) ſimply for to ſpeik any euill of her perſon, but do plainely go about to reſtrayne her frõ doing of vs any more harme. I will in no wyſe bla ſon her conditions, but onely do intend to giue all men warning of

ſuch

ſuch her vniuſtice, wronges and iniuries, as dayly ſhe exerciſeth throughout this Kingdome. I purpoſe not to ſeik any reuenge againſt her (as how ſimple a reuenge this wer for her ſo manyfolde miſcheifes committed againſt vs) for my deſire is, but to preuent ſuch finall vengeance, as of long tyme ſhe hath prepared againſt all good men, inhabiting our countrie, whome in hart ſhe accuſeth not, bot of Innocencie: ſhe hateth not, but for their vertew, neither perſeweth, but for their earneſt good will towardis the commoun welth: wherefore I do now intend to begin, with her nature, countrie and originall, imitating the Poeticall phraſe, that in the ſoyle nature lyeth hidden.

¶Firſt Katherine de Medicis is a Florentyne, wherein is to be conſidered, that as among all nationes, in craft and ſubtilitie Italy beareth the Name, ſo in Italy Tuſcane, and in Tuſcane Florence excelleth, as all common prouerbes & wryters do teſtifie: And at what tyme ſoeuer this deteſtable craft of deceit or fraude taketh rute in any perſon deſtitute of conſcience, whereof this Nation for the moſt part, is not greatly ſtoared, I will leaue vnto yow to think what nomber and diuerſitie of miſcheifes of that partie we may attend. Well to proceid, ſhe is of the famely of the Medicis. This famely hauing long lurked at Florence vnder the bondage and ſeruitude of the people, being in ſmall reputation, and becaus of the vildenes thereof vnknowen, did begin ſowhat to appeare oppenly vnder the habite of a collyer, who had attayned vnto ſome welth. This man in proceſſe of tyme, brought forth a Sonne,

The diſc and orig of kathe de Medi

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who in tyme became a Phiſition, of which ſciẽce he tuke bothe ſurname and armes, therein imitating the order which among men of occupations is vntill our tyme retayned, that is, in their markes ot armes to place the principall tooles requyred in their Arte, as the Maſons, a Hammer or a Trowell, the Taylors a paire of Sheares or ſuche lyke, and ſo of all others: After the ſame maner I ſay, our man tuke for his Armes, fiue pilles, an odde nomber, according as the Phiſitions do cõmonly ordeyne, and this deuiſe of odnes, notwithſtanding that by reaſon of diſtinction of famelies of that ſtocke deriued, the ſame nomber was not alwayes obſerued, yet did (I ſay) this deuiſe of odnes for a long tyme continew: He alſo to the end to leaue vnto his poſteritie a memoriall, that by his Arte he was become famous, tuke vpon him the ſurname de Medicis in the plurall nomber after the Italian maner, whiche vntill this day they do retayne. To be briefe, peruſe all the hiſtories of Florence from the beginning, yet ſhall yow finde no mention of this famely, vntill of lait dayes, notwithſtanding that they wryting of the partialities and deuiſions in the Cietie, wanted no occaſion to diſplay it, although they haue named all ſuche famelyes & kinreds, as were either Noble or in any wiſe notable, and therefore forced to follow either the one parte, either the other: Boccace alſo in his recitall of the principall and almoſt all the races of Florence, maketh no mention of the ſame, for to be plaine, the firſt tyme that euer any of the ſame ſtocke atteyned to any degre of office in the common welth, was at ſuch tyme as one Silueſter

became

became Captaine of the cõmunaltie against the Senators or Noble men, but afterward by Banques & vſurie it became welthie: through welth it corrupted the people, with corruptiõ it became Maiſtres of the Cietie, in which Maiſtreſship it ſought nothing but the ruting out of the moſte auncient and Renowned famelyes, as euery Florentine doeth knowe, and all Hiſtoriographers moſt plainely do teſtifie: Finally through theſe ſuche darcke and vnlawfull meanes, it atteined vnto the tyrannie, wherein it increaſed ſo wonderfully, that the Duke of Florence late deceaſed, who at his firſt entrance into the adminiſtration of the ſaid Cietie, was contented with twelf thouſand Duckates by yeare for his enterteynement and mantenance, at the tyme of his deceis, through his ſubtill ſleightes and politicke inuẽtions, encroched yearely twelf hundreth thouſand, being alſo therein ſupported and ayded by his fortreſſes and garniſons of ſtrangers brought in, only to brydill and reſtraine his owen Citizẽs: Thus is it euident that ſhe is diſcended of a baſe progenie, and therefore according vnto the olde prouerbe: If the Maſtife neuer loued the Grayhound, then let neuer the Nobilitie of Fráce attend from Katherine de Medicis no other thing, thẽ the abaſſing, deminiſhing and vtter ruting out of the ſame, in caſe ſhe be permitted long to rule and gouerne after her owen pleaſure.

The Florentines for the moſt parte, as all men do affirme with whome they do continually traficke, ar ſuch as will mak but ſmall account of their conſciences: thay will outwardly pretend Religion, meaning nothing les; thay do enuy,

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disdaine, and mortally hate all suche as either in vertew, Nobilitie, or any other good qualitie, do exceid them, but moste especially, all those to whome in any respect they are bound or beholding, notwithstanding that in outward apperãce they will seme affable vnto all men. Of all these good qualities aforenamed, the whole famely of de Medicis do retayne a quintessence, very well remarked by all Historiographers of our tyme, notwithstanding their both fauourable & feirful wrytinges: Besides all these, they are also more particularly noted of a certaine prodigalitie of other mens goods, which without all reason they giue vnto vnworthie persons and such as ar of no calling: In most fylthie and beastly whoredomes and lechery they do excell: Depe dissimulation is naturally ruted in them: and in the execution of all kynde of treasons they be moste ready. For proofe of these good conditions, I mynde not here to searche out the darcke memories of the moste auncient of this race, but am content to speak only of those who haue bene most renowned, whose memoriall is yet of freshe remembrance.

Cosme and Laurence de Medicis were greatly commended for their liberalitie toward the people, and yet practised to tiranyse their countrie, & vsed their liberalitie but as a bayte wherewith to take that fishe which afterward they purposed to deuour: It can not then be termed a vertew, for whatsoeuer action is done to an other end, or whatsoeuer any man doeth in other respectes, or hauing relation to any wicked purpose, it presētlie loseth the name of vertew: This fals pretense

and

and forged coyne did the people by lytill & lytill ſmell out, howbeit to late to take any order for redreſſe in the ſame: The effect alſo hath plainely ſhewed whereunto this ſhaddow of vertew did tend: whoſoeuer therefore will more plainely ſe vpon what occaſion this famely doth for a tyme pretend honeſty, may plainely perſaue the ſame in conſidering the doinges of Leo the tent, and Clement the ſeuint, bothe Popes and Vncles to our Quene Mother, who alſo haue greatlyeſt honoured this race, and whome in my opinion, I ought eſpecially to choſe for my patternes, rather then any other, for that they haue climed vnto the heigheſt dignitie, and bene placed in the moſt eminent degre, where as euerie man might more plainely beholde them, and view their doinges, then either among the preaſe of a comunaltie, or among the parcialities of a Cietie. Marcke now therefore what kynde of men they were, if we will beleue either Guicciardine the Florentine, one of the principall of their factiō, either els Paule Ioue Biſhop of Coſme, their affectionate ſeruand, who as they may beleue, aſwell for honour and dewtie vnto the Apoſtolicke ſeat, as alſo for their loue toward the parties, haue in their Hiſtories ſo muche as poſſibly they might, ſpared them.

Leo the tent, vnto whome in nature & Phiſiognomy our Quene Mother is lykened and compared, before that he was created Pope, verefying their aphoriſme, that he muſt pretend vertew & meane nothing les, ſhewed him ſelf ſo Religious, deuout, and holy a man, that all Chriſtendome accounted them ſelues through his Election

The nature of Leo the tenth. Paule Ioue. Lib. 31. & 32

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ction moſte happy, attending partly a generall peace, partly alſo hoping for ſome particular teſt, after ſuch manyfold warres, tumultes, and ſpoyles, as his predeceſſor Iulius the ſecund had in all places ſtirred vp: But ſo ſone as he had atteyned vnto the Papal dignitie and was once placed in Sanct Peters Chayre, and that he knew him ſelfe to be gotten into the heigheſt degre that euer he might luke for in this world, he grewe quite out of all mens knowledge, and euery one might plainely perceaue his ſubtiltie. He ſtirred vp debate among the Chriſtiane Princes, feyning ſecreit freindſhip with the Empreour and the King of France, both at one tyme, and either of them being mortall enemie vnto other: He promiſed ſecreit aide to each of them at once, wherby the more to enflame and encurage them vnto mutuall battell. He cauſed to proclame Iubilies and to celebrate proceſſions. whiles in the meane tyme him ſelfe was plonged, euen to the throte in all kynde of pleaſures and voluptuouſnes: He cauſed to preache Croyſades againſt the Turckes throughout all Chriſtendome, and all to no intent but to gadder money wherewith to enriche his Bauds, Harlots, Ieſters, flatterers and ſuche other his hangers on: He promiſeth pardons vnto whome ſoeuer wil contribute, and all that by his contributions may be gaddered, is preſently beſtowed vpon exceſſiue charges, vnreaſonable rewards, and the maintenance of his Siſter Magdalein, vnto whome he granteth all the money aryſing of his Pardones throughout Germany. Hereupon ſaith Guicciardine, Luther tuke occaſion to cry out againſt Purgatory, and to enter into

Se Guicciardine and Iouius throwout his haill Papacye.

Guicciardin. libro. 3.

into the liſtes with the Pope. Our ſelues alſo haue ſene what hathe ſince that tyme chanced thtoughout Chriſtindome: He ſemeth verie liberall but it is of the treaſure which his Predeceſſor Pope Iulius had collected and horded vp togidder, notwithſtanding al the warres which he alwayes continewed and mainteined, that is to ſay, of the goodes and honoures of the Church, which he ſtil diſtributeth only vnto his Kinſfolkis and Florentine ſeruandis and freindis: It is Sanct Peters patrimonie which he ſtil deſtroyeth with his petty bribes and ſuch other his grauntis as daylie he augmenteth and confirmeth vnto them: It is money dowbly extracted of al Beneficial expeditiounis throughout Chriſtindome, which is beſtowed vpon the enriching of a few perſons vnto whome he hath wholy vowed him ſelf. In the meane tyme he is the caus of murmures and diſſencion in the Church, which preſently doth and ſtil ſhal repent and ſmart for the ſame: He of a long tyme hath impouerifhed the Clergy: He hath ſo morgaged the Eccleſiaſticall liuinges in Italy, that his Succeſſor findeth nothing to tak vnto, wherof the prouerb yet remaneth, that he continewed Pope long after his deceis, to be breif, through buylding ſome goodly Piller, or enriching ſome new Portal, he deſtroyeth the whole buylding. Let vs therefore now proceid vnto Clement the ſeuint, another of our Katherins Vncles.

Guicciardin. lib. 14. Paule Ioue. lib. 26. about the beginning.

Guicciardin. lib. 14.

This man was created Cardinal contrary vnto the Decreis of holy Church which do exclude all baſtardis: Then was he by bying with money and fair promyſis the voyce of the Parlour, created Pope,

The ryſing vp of Clement the 7. Guicciardin. lib. 12. & 15.

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ted Pope, albeit before tyme vntill this point he had reasonably played his part. Heirin may yow behold how their owen seruandis, being by the treuth forced, do set them out vnto vs.

This Pope at euery word spak of making by a common consent, a generall warre against the Turke, and yet neuertheles continually either moued, either nurished warre among the Christians, coasting sometyme one, sometyme another Prince, and many tymes bothe of them at once, the easelier to intertayne them: He spak of persewing Heretykes, and yet him-self in Rome was not ashamed to procure disputacions amõg sindrie Philosophers, gaddered out of all those borders, concerning the Immortalitie of the saul, neither feared he to affirme that he culd neuer beleue it to be Immortall. He motioned confederacies betuix the Empreour and the King of France, with other Christian Princes, and neuertheles accounted it foly to keip promise with out profite, by which meanes say they, he obteined the rewaird of periured persons, that is, that whatsoeuer he promised, yea euin in full intent to performe, yet wold no man beleue him: This appeared in all such dealingis as he had among most Princes in Christindome: It might also be perceiued in such his priuate reuenges as he executed in Florence, after that he had recouered it: For he put to deith all the cheifest and most notable persons, contrary to the expres wordes of the parle. Comming afterward to discriue his nature, thus they wryte of him. He delited much rn dissimulation: he was familiar with none, but such as satisfied or wer of some counsell in his greatest

The Heresie of Clement the 7.

Paule Ioue. lib. 30.

Paule Ioue. lib. 29.

The nature of Clement the 7.

greateſt ſecreitis (Theſe wordes ar plaine aneuch to be vnderſtād without terming things by their proper names) and thoſe perſons did he without ſhame, reſpect, or any regaird at all to aduance vnto the heigheſt dignities and cheifeſt honoures, and vnreaſonably enriche: But as for honeſt perſons, men of eſtimation or honour (mark the very nature of his niece) thoſe did he in outward countenance interteyne with fair wordes, but in hart, as the effect might be gaddered, he abhorred and haited them, and principally ſo many of them as he was in any wiſe beholding or boundin vnto, therein reſembling the euill detter towardis his creditors: yea in the vice of ingratitude he ſo far excelled, that Iouius writeth that he was more glaid and tuke greater pleaſure in that the Prince of Orenge, who vnto his behufe held the Cietie of Florence ſtraitly beſeged, was there ſlaine, then he was for the recouerie of the Cietie, or for his Election vnto the Papacy, only for feir leaſt he ſhuld haue in recompence of his trauellis demanded his deirly beloued Niece Katherine in Mariage, of whome to the intent thereby to wring out of him ſome ſeruice, he had put him in ſome hope: He dyed being ſuſpect in all his dealingis amongeſt moſt of the Chriſtiane Princes. He was become odious to the whole Court of Rome, and wonderfully haited among all men, in ſo much that notwithſtanding his Phiſition was greatly ſuſpected to haue poyſoned him, yet there was no man who in hart did not thank him for the ſame, and inwardly moſt highly commend him for this his ſo ſingular a benefite vnto all Chriſtindome, and principally

Paule Iou... lib. 32. in the ſame worde...

Paule Iou... lib. 29.

Paule Iou... lib. 32. Guicciard... lib. 20.

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Paule Ioue. lib. 32. vnto the Cietie of Rome, which he delyuered from so cruell a Tyrant: These be the reports of the Vncles of our Katherine, of whome neuertheles, I omit to reheirs the testimonies of our most approued Historiographers, which haue writtin of lait dayes, for those men who personally knew him, may delate heirupon: In case you demand what maner of man his Father Laurence de Medicis was, all men will affirme that he was a man consumed and wasted in all maner of villanies, whoredomes and Inceστes, such a one as was blynded with ambition, and one who wãted nothing but power to commit most greuous euillis and mischeifis: Againe, inquyring what man his Cossen Laurence de Medicis was, you shall sone finde out his dissimulation, and after what maner he practised his fayned freindship the space of one whole yeare, toward Alexander de Medicis, his neir kinsman, how he became esclaue to all his pleasures: how he maid him self his espy toward Strozzi, and other his enemies: and his baude vnto all such as he lusted after, yea euin vnto most execrable Inceστes, and yet notwithstanding all these thingis, in the end how he alluring the said Alexander home vnto his owẽ hous, vnder cullour of procuring vnto him the pleasure of a certaine fair Lady, in his owen bed, and with his owen hand slew him.

Paule Ioue. lib. 36.

Here haue you sene how both her natiue soyle, her race and famely, and also the dealingis and practises of her most neir Kinssolkes, do warne vs, and as it wer, will vs to luke for most terrible matters at her handes.

The starres in her Natiuitie did plainely threaten the

ten the place of her habitation: For her parents according to the dispositiō of that coūtrie, being very curious to know her destiny, did frō all places thereaboutes, gadder togidder the most Renowned and skilfull Astrologers, to the end, to calculate her natiuitie, amōg whome there came one, named Basil the Mathematiciā, who before tyme had prognosticated vnto the late Duke of Florence, that a high and most excellent dignitie did tary for him, notwithstanding at that tyme there was no such likelyhood: The register or opiniō of all these Astrologers agreing in one sentence is writtin after the forme of a consultation and might yet peraduenture be recouered, the effect whereof was, that they all by one accord did iudge that in case she liued, she shuld be occasion of great calamities, and of the final and vtter subuersion of her famely and housholld, also of the place whereunto she shuld be Maryed: at this sentence her parents wer so greatly abashed, that they were almost at the point to cast her furth, thereby to preuent, least lyke vnto Paris with diuers more, she shuld bring destruction vpon her natiue countrie, howbeit finally they determined ruin for very pietie to nouriſh and bring her vp: Notwithstanding to the end to frustrate & mak voyde such inclinations as these Astrologers had Prognosticated, they determined neuer for to Mary her: But shortly after it so befell that Florēce hauing practised meanes to shake of the yok of the famely of ỹ Medicis was beseged by Pope Clement, in the yeare of our Lord 1530. for that he pretended to gouerne thē: Now in this time it so happened, that the former calculation which could

Pronostications at her byrth.

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could not be ſo cloiſly concealed as it was wiſhed was reuealed by meanis of Clarice de Medicis the wyfe of Phillip Strozi, who being a formall Enemie vnto this race, whome ſhe reputed as baſtardis, had hard an inkling of the ſame, and beſides her diuers other perſons which forced not much of keiping it ſecreit: The rumour thairfoir heirof being ſomewhat great, was ſone ſpred into euery mannis eir, wherupon the Citizens thinking it not meit that ſhe ſhuld be highly maryed, and ſuſpecting leaſt ſhe ſhuld becaus of the ſubuerſion of their Cietie (which ſuſpicion alſo was the more feared, by reaſon that her Vncle Clement did ſpecially demand that his ſaid Niece Katherine ſhuld be vnto him reſtored) aſſembled heirupon a counſell to determine of hir caſe: Some thought it beſt to put hir in a baſket, and then to hing hir ouer the town wallis and rampiers, to the end ſome ſhot of the Canon might beir hir away, yea there was one Preicher who exhorted them ſo to ridde their handis of hir. Others thought it good to put hir in the ſtewis ſo ſone as ſhe ſhuld cum to age: An other ſort wold that ſhe ſhuld be takin from the Nunnery wherein ſhe was kept and be put among the Recluſes from whence ſhe might neuer depart, generally with one accord thay all willed that ſhe might neuer be reſtored vnto hir Vncle: but finally, the ſentence which in outward apperance ſemed moſt gentill, yet in effect the moſt cruell, was followed, which was the opinioun of certaine, who willed hir to be kept ſtill among the Nunnis, vntill the end of thair warres, quhairupon ſhe was thair reteined, vntill the Cietie yel-

ded: with

ded: with hir had the Pope during the seige gratefied the Prince of Orenge: howbeit seing him self now deliuered from him, he sometyme smileth vpon Frances Sforza, Duke of Millan, on the Empreours behalfe, sometyme vpon one, sometyme vpō an other, vntill that finally an extreme desire of reuenge, practised and concluded this vnfortunate Mariage, which happened thus.

King Frances the first of France, misliked such extremitie, as the Empreour during his captiuitie had vsed towardes him, and besides that, was not content with those Artikles whereūto him self before his deliuery did agre. Pope Clement also was vexed with the sacking and spoyle of Rome where as him self was takin prisoner, for as he affirmed, this interprise was not begunne without the consent of the Empreour, who also not long sithence being chosin as an Empier, had adiudged the Cietie of Ferrar vnto the Duke of Modena, which Pope Clement pretended to per sew. They both therefore wold faine be reuenged, but either of them did in part mistrust his owen habilitie: For the King of France had neid of the Popes Auctoritie, and the Pope also wated part of the King of Frances power. The King of France therefore by the Cardinals of Turnon & of Grandmonte, moued communication of a match to be maid betuix his secund Sone Henry at that tyme Duke of Orleance and Katherine the Popes Niece: Clement was very willing and desirous of the same, but it could neuer sincke in his mynde, that such a match could be ment in good earnest: Hereupon the Pope breaketh this matter vnto the Empreour, in whom he fayned

Guiceiardi lib. 20. Paule Iou lib 31. Mart.du B lay. lib. 4.

Mariage of the Quene Mother.

to repose assured trust, by reason of the allyance confirmed betuix them, by the Mariage of Alexander de Medicis, vnto the Empreours naturall Daughter: the Empreour answered that in case he wold but shew a countenance to hasten forward these affaires, he might then sone perceiue that this was but a mere daliance. To be breif, the Pope so earnestly vrged the King in these maters, that the Deputies wer in small tyme after sent with full Authoritie to cõtract and dispatch all these affaires, which done, the agrements wer sone passed, wherein into this Mariage of Katherine wer for hir Drowry secretly assigned vpon a vaine & pernicious hope, the Ducheries of Millan and Vrbine which the Pope wold help for to recouer, with the Cieties and Seigniorys of Parma, Placentia and Modena, that he shulde adde vnto the aforesaid by meanes of other small assurãce, of which interprises we could neuer reape other commodities in France then ruyne and destruction, and yet before the talk of this Mariage Pope Clement had by all meanes disswaded the King from all practises tuicheing these interprises.

Guiciardin. lib. 15. & 16

The Empreour thus by his owen deuise found him self greatly deceaued, and hereupon began to dout least this Mariage shuld procure some alteration in Italy, wherof he sent to sollicite the Pope of his promyses, and to exhort him not to giue eare vnto whatsoeuer the King of France might propone vnto him, wherunto he answered that Christindome, partly through the multiplying of the Lutherans, and partly by the reuolt of the King of Englond, was greatly deuyded, and

The Empreour abused.

The reuolt of the King of England.

therefore

therefore that vnto the vniting and knitting togidder of the ſame againe, the allyance and Authoritie of ſo great and mightie a King was vnto him moſt neceſſary, alſo that as for this new knot and allyance which he had made, he ſhulde not neid to care, for that him ſelf was deſirous rather to be an Arbitre in their controuerſies & an author of peace betuix them, then a procurer or ſupporter of any warre, moreouer that he had giuen to France ſuch a wyfe, as ſhuld ſoner procure trouble vnto their owen eſtate, then vnto any other. Theſe his wordes he peraduenture groũded vpõ the predictions of his Aſtrologers, notwithſtanding it might be that he had ſome relation to the nature, aſwell of his whole race & famely, as alſo particularly of him ſelf, and thereupon might rather this coniecture of his Niece: But howſoeuer it were, this Mariage was finally conſũmate at Marſeyles in the yeare of our Lord 1533. wheras the Pope & the King did perſonally mete and ſe each other, howbeit Clement could neuer throughly perſwade him ſelf of this Mariage (by reaſon of their inequalitie) before that he had ſene them laid togidder in bed.

The Pope iudgeth of his Niece.

The Mariage of Katherine de Medicis conſũmate.

The Pope doubteth of the Mariage.

Behold now I pray yow & mark the warnings of the heauens, the Prognoſtications of the Aſtronomers, & finally the Iudgement of the Pope hir owen Vncle, the author of this Mariage. Now is ſhe eſcaped from the Cõuent, the Canõ, and the Stewes, and is come very willingly to be Maryed to the Sone of a King of France. Here muſt we therefore conſider how wel hir propheſies be commen to paſſe and accompliſhed, alſo whither in any reſpect ſhe hath degenerated frõ

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the maners and conditions of hir Anceſtors.

It is neidles in this place to ſtand vpon hir doinges, during hir tender age, wherein notwithſtanding hir zouth, ſhe did ſhew furth moſt manifeſt and euidēt tokens of hir ambicious mind. Now therfore to the purpoſe: It is not vnknowē vnto all men what great and manifeſt preſumptions were gathered againſte her concerning the poiſoning of the Doulphine Frances being the elder brother vnto her husbād Henry then duke of Orleance, neither is her furious enuy (which during his life time, boiled in her ſtomack againſt him, partly for his elderſhippe, partly alſo for ſuch his royall vertues as procured vnto him the harty good will of the King his father and of all the nobilitie) buried in obliuion, neither alſo is forgotten the ielouzy which ſhe ſowed betwene the two brethren, neither yet hir familiarity which ſhe ſtil vſed toward thoſe who wer ſuſpected for this curſed poyſoning.

The poyſoning of the Doulphin of France.

Afterward at what time as my Lord the Duke of Anguien, by reaſon of his promyſes grew into ſome reputation, how couertly was ſhe his enemie, and what fanſyes did ſhe put in hir husband Henry then Doulphin of Frāce his head againſt him, by occaſion of the which Cornelio di Bentiuoglia diſpatched him at the Rochguien at the ſame tyme, that ſhe was at the point to be repudiated, and ſent home into Italy, partly becaus of hir barrennes, partly alſo by reaſō of ſuch manifeſt tokens as moſt plainly appeared of hir wicked nature and froward diſpoſition, whereby ſhe was forced to winne the Lady great Seneſhall afterward Ducheſſe of Valenciens, to the end to in-

The murder of the Duke of Anguien.

Katherine at the point to be repudiate

Katherine hir husbād is baud.

terteyne

certeyne hir, with my Lord the Dolphine hir husband, when as also she was not ashamed to becõe as it were his baude, prouyded alwayes that she might thereby atteyne vnto hir ententes.

These euils were assuredly most greuous and heynous earnestes, of such mischiefes as sence she hath committed amang vs, & yet are as nothing, in respect of those that she daylie practiseth and euer haue done, since the time that she atteyned vnto the gouernment, and there it is that principally I desire all men to fixe their eyes, because that accordyng vnto the old saying, in regiment & auctoritie, each mans nature is soneste discried.

After that King Henry by reason of the deceis of Frances the first his Father, had obteined the Crowne, when as his wife Katherin had by such meanes as all men doe know gotten children, she seing hir self past all daunger of being repudiated and sent home into Italie to hir parentes, began to set foote and intrude hir self into the gouernment, and affaires of the Realme, for atteining wherunto she did, as it were, present hir seruice vnto my Lorde the Constable of France of late memory, hoping by his meanes to get in, first one foote, and then the whole body: Whereupõ the said Lord notwithstanding he wer not there unto greitly affectionate, did sometime cast furth some word vnto King Henry, whereby to satisfie this womans importunate requeist, howbeit he culd neuer receaue other then cold and doutfull answers, neuertheles the said Lord so prosecuted this suite, that finally the King being somewhat moued at his importunate speach, maid him answer, that he as yet knew not well that womans

The deith of Frances the first.

The extreme desire of gouernement of Katherin de Medicis.

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nature, for, ſaid he euen in theſe wordes, ſhe is the greateſt confounder of all thinges that is in ye world, and who ſo granteth vnto hir but an entry, ſhe will ſone get wholly in, wheras ſhe will ſpoyle and bring all out of frame.

King Henry his opinion of his wyfe Katherine.

Notwithſtanding this the Kinges own opinio of hir, yet could he not ſo well loke vnto hir, but that during his voyage into Germany ſhe ſet in foote, albeit for ſo ſhort a ſpace and with ſo good a bridle, that at that time the common welth did not greatly fele hir, conſidering alſo that according to ye nature of hir natiue contrie, ſhe would in ſmall trifles ſhew ſome proofe of good huſwifrie, to the end ſhe might afterward atteine vnto matters of greater importance, and beſides that ſhe feared to bring men out of conceipt of hir gouernment, at the firſt beginning. King Henry being deceaſed, (whome ſhe did not long bewaile) Frances his eldeſt ſone came to the crowne, who greatly fauored the Lordes of Guiſe, onkles vnto his wife, the Quene of Scottes, in whome alſo he repoſed all truſt of his moſt weighty affaires: But they made no great account of Katherine de Medicis, neither granted they vnto hir any farther dealinges in the gouernment then neides they muſt, for ſaid they, it is an eaſier matter & more conuenient for to ſhute the gate before hir comming in, then after hir entrie, to thruſt hir out againe: Hereupon ſhe perceauing the Princes of the blood ſomewhat remoued, and diuers of the Officers of the Crowne ſcarce well pleaſed, determined ſo much as ſhe might to ſet the on a hete, by meanes of this gouernment, and ſo to let hir ſelf in, vnder pretence of becoming an vmpiere

The deathof Henry the ſecund.

in

in this difference.

First therefore she addressed hir self vnto the late Duchesse of Monpensier, a wyse Lady, whōe aboue all other she semed for to fauour. Vnto this good Lady did she complaine that the gouernent of the realme was taken from ye princes of the blood, who were the lawfull administrators of the same, and was now transferred vnto straungers: Also that my Lord ye duke of Mommorency Constable of France and his Children were put back, yea & his neuewes of Chastillion) whose party she as thē semed gretly affectionate vnto) were nothing accoumpted of, moreouer what small auctorytie was now left vnto the officers of ye Crowne in recompence of their great seruices, yea & which was as vntollerable as the rest, what small account was mad of hir self being both wife & mother of Kinges, was plainely sene and to be breife, she termed the gouernment of the Lordes of Guise in expresse Wordes no other then a tirannous vsurpation and entry vnto the possession of the Crown, vnder coulor of successiō in the right and title of Charlemaigne with the destruction of the greatest men, and extinguishing of those which were in chefest authority.

Kaherine the principall original of the tumultes of Amboyse.

Thus semed she to haue bene set on by some earnest zeale vnto the common welth: she knew also that the dutchesse of Monpensier did greatly fauour the Lutherans opinions, for that toward ye end of the reigne of King Hēry they had detected a great nōber of that sect in France who semed to be supported by some of the princes of the blude, towardes whome she wold now seme to mislike of such rygors as wer vsed against thē: she desyred

The Lutherance supported by some Princes of the blood.

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to heir the principles of their Religion: she is very earneſt to be inſtructed in their opiniõs: she commendeth hir ſelf vnto their Conſiſtories, and finally she promyſeth vnto them all ayde and fauour, as if she ſought nothing ſo much as their aduancement.

The Dutches of Monpenſier at hir inſtance communicated all hir ſayinges vnto the King of Nauarre & vnto the Prince of Conde, she diſcloſed the ſame alſo vnto my late Lord the Conſtable, by the meanes of Charles de Marrillac Archbiſhop of Vienna, not concealing it neither from many other noble Lords and vailliant gentilmẽ, who ſemed to haue ſome intereſt in the ſame, & therefore had caus not to omit ſo good an occaſion, but to harken thereunto, and willingly alſo would haue ſene ſo heigh an attempt and notable interpriſe brought vnto an good end: Neuertheles they knowing what occaſion moued the Quene to enter into this deuiſe, conſidering alſo hir troubleſome nature, ſubiect to procure alteration in all thingis, wold not venture at hir adwowe and vpon hir perill to medle there withal, and ſo ſhewed them ſelues not greatly moued with the ſame.

Howbeit the fame of ſo earneſt deſire as she ſemed to haue, to fauour or ſupport an alteratiõ ſounded in ſo many mens eares, that finally ſome thẽ concluded thereupon to tak occaſion, wher-
Who were partakers in the tumultis of Amboyſe
of proceded the interpriſe of Amboyſe conducted by two ſeuerall ſortis of people. The one, of thoſe who miſlyked the gouernment, the other of Lutherans, which were not content with ſuch extreame dealingis as wer practiſed againſt them,

them, but generally either of them emboulden-
ed by ſuch fauour as they luked for at hir handis,
in caſe they culd by any meanes diſplace the Lor-
dis of Guiſe from all gouernment: But the iſſue
of this interpriſe was (as all men do know) very
vnfortunate vnto the attempters of the ſame.
She therefore ſeing this practiſe haue no better
ſucces, determined with hir ſelf wholy to frame
her doinges vnto ye orders of ye Lordrs of Guiſe
and to accõmodate hir ſelf vnto their pleaſures,
becauſe they were ſo ſetled in the gouernment,
that they could by no meanes be diſplaced, and
therefore ſhe thought it better to win their fa-
uors. She was than the firſt and moſt vehement,
that cryed out againſt theſe men, Which in hope
of hir ſupport had hazarded them ſelues: She feig
ned that ſhe did beleue them to haue conſpired
againſt hir owne perſon: She would neides be pre
ſent at their execucions therby to let all men
know what ſhe allowed of the ſame: yea the great
lyer to ſatisfye their humors, and to pleaſe and
content their myndes by all meanes poſſible, ſhe
with hir fayre wordes, ſo far won the Cardinall
of Bourbon, as to procure him to allure his own
brother the Prince of Condé to come vnto the
Court, where as he was immediatly committed
vnto priſon: ſhe concluded and confirmed moſt
ſecreat and ſtraygh amitie with the Cardinall of
Lorreyne, who had chiefeſt dealings in al matters
It is not alſo vnknowen to the whole world, by
what meanes ſhe procured the empriſonment of
the Vidam of Charters in cloſe priſon, only be-
caus he ſeing hir aſſiſt at the execution of thoſe
whome hir ſelf before had ſet on work, cryed out

The euil ſuc-
ceſſe cauſeth
hir to chãge
hir copy.

Katherine
intreteth fa
uoure with
the houſe of
Guiſe.

The execu-
tion of the
Rebellis of
Amboyſe.

The Prince
of Cõde pri-
ſoner.

The impri-
ſonment of
the Vidã of
Charres.

that

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that she would be the destruction of this Kingdome: To be breif, she sought so many meanes to gratifie them withall, that she was nothing ashamed to propone, that it wer no reproche ne iniury vnto the Royall blood of France, to permit after the first Prince of that blood, the cheifest Prince of Lorreyn to follow, after the secund of France, the secund of Lorreyn and so of the rest consequently, an interprise which I dare well assure my self, the Lordis of Guise wold neuer haue practised, all which hir drifts did tend only vnto the obteining of the Regiment of our kingdome, which aboue all thingis she desired. Heir may you behould as it semeth the whole originall & occasion of the first tumultes, which afterward became in effect the sede of the rest.

Katherine seiketh to cõpair the hous of Lorreyn with the hous of Guise.

Sone after these thinges Frances dyed after whome succeded his brother Charles the nynth, being betuix eleuin and twelf yeares of age, a Prince surely of him self of a good disposition, had she not practised all meanes to corrupt his tender youth. During his minoritie she attempted the Regiment, which neuertheles she much doubted of, by reson of the King of Nauarre, a man of good yeares, and the first Prince of the blood nixt vnto the Kingis brethren, who wer but Infants: for she feared least he wold tak vpõ him the Regiment which in deid was his right, and that he would leaue hir no part thairin. One thing thair was also, which caused hir the more to doubt thairof, and that was, for that she plainly perceaued him very well to agre with the Duke of Mommorency Constable of France and with his Neuewis, the Lordis of Chastillion and

The death of Frãces the secund.

The practise of Katherine de Medicis to ouerne ionelie with the King of Nauarre.

and with others the Officers of the Crowne.

Howbeit finally she found meanes to winne him, by shewing hir self greatly affectionate vnto the Iustification and deliuerance of his brother the Prince of Conde, who all this tyme remained prisoner: she also procured the wining of ye hous of Chastillion through the meanes of the duches of Monpensier: who toke paines and trauailled simply in full hope to aduance and set forwarde hir Religion, whereunto a few yearis before thay had ioyned them selues: Finally she atteyned vnto the Constables fauour by the help of his Neuewis the Lordis of Chastillion, whome then he fauoured and in most matters beleued: in so much that the King of Nauarre, partly of his owen motion, and partly through the counsall of some of his freindis (as naturally he was easy to be intreated, being peraduenture more giuen vnto his owen ease then vnto any cair or regaird of the commoun welth) did sone agre and condiscend vnto hir in this point, that ioyntly thay shuld togidder gouern, and dispose of the affairis of the Kingdome, namely the Quene and he by the aduise and counsall of the Princes of the blood, with other the officers of the Crowne, & the cheif counsallers of the Realme: In this partition had she assuredly won much, which all neuertheles in hir mynd semed as nothing by reason she culd beir no equalitie, but neidis would gouern wholy alone. Afterward for a while thay continewed the assemblie of the estatis, begun in the time of Frãces the secund, wherein she so wel played hir part, that she obteined hir whole purpose: Notwithstãding ỳ in the particular Estatis

Katherine winneth the Nobilitie.

of the

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Prouinces the whole and absolute regiment was deferred vnto the King of Nauarre: and this was hir polliticke guile.

The King of Nauarre secretly fauored the protestantes, of whõe at yat tyme their was in Ftãce a great number, yea and those that their were, semed in deid more then ye truth was by reason as well of the generall dispersion of them in moste partes of the realme, as also of the great nomber of gentlemen, who dayly ioyned them selues vnto that kind of professed religion: which she perceauing, did also secreatly tak them in a maner in to hir protection, and that so farre as they had greater recourse vnto hir, then vnto him, as vnto one of whome they reaped more support: Moreouer she gaue out openly to vnderstand, that she found not their opinions euell: she caused diuers persons who of long tyme had bene accompted Lutherans to preach before hir, as the Bishop of Valentia, and Butler, With others: She listened very attentiuely vnto ꝑ reading of Peter Martirs writinges vpon the chefe poyntes of religion at this tyme in controuersie, wherat sundry Catholickes began to be offended: yea which is moste of all, she secretly cõmoned with diuers of the moste apparant of their ministers: She read their declarations and small treatises: She willingly receaued their requests and supplications: She promised vnto them all spedy aduancement in their affaires, She recommended hir self vnto their congregations & consistories: She did caus to deliuer vnto them money, wherewithall to fetch vp ministers out of all contreyes vnto the conuocation and disputatiõ at Poyssie: Yea she geueth thẽ to vnder-

The practise of Katherine for to winne the Protestants whereby she may rule alone.

Katherines great fauour towarde the Protestants.

stand

ſtand that ſhe is minded to procure the King hir ſonne and my Lordes hir children to be diligently enſtructed in their religion: Wherefore I do now leaue vnto all aſſured Catholickes to Iudge and conſider what an enterpriſe this was, ſeing that the Ptoteſtantes had at all tymes bene condemned by all Kinges hir predeceſſors, and had not as yet obteined any Edict wherin the fre libertie of their Religion was permitted vnto them.

Theſe were hir ſleightes wherwithal she wonne the Prince of Conde, ye thre brethren of Chaſtillion and all other perſons which wished for any reformatiõ or change in Religion, yea she ſemed ſo earneſt hearin, that they all affirmed that she had done more for them then the King of Nauarre, wherefore in all their ſuites and affaires, they had recourſe vnto hir rather then vnto him: But in ye meane tyme she diſcontinewed not hir wonted good countenance & ſmothe lookes vnto all the world behind their backes, affirming vnto the catholickes, that all hir driftes and ſhiftes tended only vnto the auoiding of diſſenſion and deuiſions, as, to ſay ye truth, she forced not what Religion were eſtabliſhed, or abolished, ſo that she might attein vnto hir purpoſe, which was, vnto the regiment.

Moreouer knowing the diſpoſition and nature of the King of Nauar, she entertained him to hir power in all Courtlike pleaſures, in ſo much that he craving the fauour of one of hir Ladyis named Madamde la Rouet, hir ſelf cõmanded the ſaid Lady, not to refuſe him of any requeiſt which he might mak vnto hir, but to hir power to ſatiſfye him,

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Katherine Julleth the King of Nauar on sleipe

to the end that of him self forgetting the affaires of the Realme, he might encurre the displeasure and hatred of all men, and thus by these meanes and deuises she brought her purpose to passe.

Katherine obteined the whole Gouernment.

To be briefe, she labored so sore, that notwithstanding the exceptions of diuers of the deputies of the estates, founded vpon the auctority of the Salicque law and the euill succesſe of the regimēt of women in this Kingdome, yet she through, as well the necligence and reachlesnes of the King of Nauarre, who condiscended thereunto, as also by reason the said deputies waxed more slacke, becaus they saw how smal accompt the said king maid thereof, the whole gouernment was deferred vnto the Quene, as vnto the person who especially ought to procure the profit of the King hir sonne, and the honor of his estate, & so consequently of the whole Kingdome, according vn to the dutie of each naturall mother, The Admiral de Chastillion, & Monsieur de la Mortier had she chosin to be the speakers and motioners heir of vnto the Estates, who finally wer recompensed for their paines accordingly, euin as all others who haue done any seruice vnto the famely of de Medicis namely the one with death, the other with malice and hatred.

Katherine a counterfaite Protestant.

Heir may you plainly perceaue how for hir owen priuate lucre she fauoured the Protestants, whome by hir coũtenancing she caused first to multiply in this Realme, embouldening them to preach publictly, & to cum out of such corners as before thay hid them selues in, and so to shew them selues both in Cietie and countrie, which she did not for any greater affection which she bare vnto thair Religion,

gion, then vnto any other, as since it hath manifestly appeared, but only to the end to withdraw the Protestantis from hir cõpetitor the King of Nauarre, & to say the treuth, she was the occasiõ and procurer of the Edict of Ianuary, which permitted vnto them the fre exercise of their Religion, in the suburbes of all the cheif cieties in the Kingdome, which hath bene the principall fundation of thair iustification concerning these ciuill wars: Yea and after this Edict, at what tyme the protestantes of Roan for theyre obedience sake, withdrew them selues into the suburbes vnto their sermons, she certified them that she misliked of this their humble submission, alledging that they shuld haue taried within the walles vnto such time as they had bene either entreated or els forced to depart, for becaus, said she, this their so great facility & lenitie might in tyme to cum, be preiudyciall vnto them.

The iustification of the Protestantes warres.

The Quene hauing now obteined the regimẽt thought not that to be sufficiẽt, for that she culd not abide any cõtroulers: the late Lord the cõstable was wont somewhat to coole hir, The Lords of Guise during the reigne of Frances the secund had kept hir vnder, she must now therfore neides seke some extraordinary menes to expell them out of the counsell, whlch she practised thus.

The estates were greatly abashed and wondred to se so many debts as the King was runne into, considering what sums the late Kingis had exacted of their subiectes: faine would they called those to accomptes who in the aforesayde Kingis dayes had the whole affaires in their owen handes: they willinglye also woulde haue

Katherines practise whe reby to expell the Cõstable, & the Lords of Guise out of the counsail.

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haue reserched such excessiue gifts as had bene granted: But for so much as therin they shuld haue to do with the mightiest, and could not procure these accomptes & researches, without greuing and molesting the said Lord the Constable, the Lordes of Guise, and the Marshall of Sainct Andre, who during the reignes of the late Kings had borne cheife sway and auctority, they durst not enterprise so waighty a matter without some notable support: which the Quene perceauing, she sollicited them to mak inquisition, promising vnto them all ayd and assistance, in so reasonable a request: These hir fayre promises so farre allured them, that they purposed spedely to call to accomptes the administrators of the realme during the reygne of the Kingis aforesaid, yea and that before some such notable and graue persons, as the hole assembly of estates should depute, wherras also during the giuing vp of this accompt, such as should be found parties in ye same should for that tyme be excluded the counsall.

The Nobilitie called to accompt.

This in hir opinion semed a match well maid, whereunto she maid priuy the Prince of Conde with others: she also did conclude a match with the said Prince and the Lordes of Chastillion, and with all the protestantes in France, who by reason of such fauour as she still shewe vnto them, semed wonderfully, euin in view, to multiply.

Katherines league against the king of Nauarre.

Bot mark what happened: At the self same tyme their was an other match maid, which was this.

The King of Nauarre began to perceaue that during the pursuite of his loue, the Quene had almost vnhorsed him (and this was all that his counsall could beat into his head) whereby he

now

now finally began to se his owne folly and in earnest to snuffe and be greued heirat, purposing to hinder hir deuises: afore time he was for the most part gouerned by the Lordes of Chastillion, who now he disdayneth, as in part, the procurers of the Quenes gouernment, and therefore openly defieth them as his vtter enemyes: He had before tyme without caus, chased from the Court the Marshall of Sanct. Andrewes, for certayne griefes which he pretended to be done vnto him during the reigne of Francis the second, whom now (becaus he saw him out of the Quenes fauour) he calleth againe and ioyneth vnto him. The Duke of Guise also during these broyles, being scarce well pleased with suche small regarde as was had of him and misliking such reckoninges as now after his manifould seruices, he was called vnto, determined not to omit so fit an occasion: wherupon he with the rest of the Lordes of his familie began to put the King of Nauarre in hope of the Kingdome of Sardaigne in recompence of his Realme of Nauarre: assuring him moreouer to deale with the Pope concerning the adwowe of diuorce which he intended from his wyfe, & the to procure vnto him the Mariage of their Neice the Quene of Scottis: About the same tyme also Frances Baldwin the renowned Lawyer came vnto him who restrained him from all chaunge of Religiō, whereunto he was before bent, wherby you might sone after persaue all his auncient hatred toward the famely of Guise quyte extinguished, and the Protestantes Religion vtterly abandoned. The Constable also persauing how the Protestantis daylie increased and how diuers

The league of the frēche Nobilitie against Katherine.

Baldwin the Lawyer.

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ſought meanes to diſpatch him, determined preſently to tak ordour for the ſame, aſwell by reaſō of ſuch affection as he pretended to owe vnto the Church of Rome for that he was lineally diſcended of the firſt Chriſtian King in France, as alſo to fortifie him ſelf againſt the practiſes of the Quene, and thairfore he did more ſtraightly ally him ſelf vnto the King of Nauarre, and agre all differences betuix him ſelf and the Lordis of Guiſe. By this meanes was ſone ſene another match betuix the King of Nauarre, the Conſtable, the Lordis of Guiſe, and the Marſhall of S. Andrewes, whereby to oppoſe them ſelues vnto the doinges and gouernment of the Quene, who went about to abaſſe and bring them to noght, alſo againſt the encreſing of the proteſtants, whom ſhe mainteined. Theſe matches being thus maid you might ſone haue ſene good ſport, and practiſing who might firſt becum Maiſters of Paris and of the Court. The Quene cauſed the Prince of Conde to draw towardes Paris accōpanyed with diuers gentilmen his freindis: but the Conſtable followed on after, who through his credite and authoritie in the Cietie, did quickly becum Maiſter thairof: ſhe willed the Prince of Conde to admoniſh freindis to cum vnto the Court, and to remaine neir about the Kingis perſon: howbeit the Lordis of Guiſe came before them, and ſo kept them a loofe of: This when the Quene doth behold, ſhe wepeth, ſhe lamenteth: ſhe alſo taketh it greuouſly, that the King hir Sonne & hir ſelf wer now becum priſoners vnto thoſe, who before practiſed to haue ſtollen away and conueyed hir ſecund Sonne into Lorreyn: She wryteth vnto

The Conſtables takinge of Paris.

teth vnto the Prince of Conde to tak weapon in hand: she desireth him to tak charge of both the Mother and Children: she hartely beseicheth him not to permit thame to be miserably deteyned in prison, with diuers other such lyke requestes and exhortations, which all, so far moued him, that finally being by hir letters authorised, he put him self into Orleance, he tuke many townes by hir lamentations, and he also gaddered togidder his freindis, causing them to put on armour in all partes of the Realme: Heirby it plainly appeareth, that had it not bene by hir procuremēt, neither the Prince of Conde, nor yet the hous & famely of Chastillio, euer wold, or els at any time durst, haue delt in these affaires: and yet whē she persaued thē to waik to release hir, & the Kingis presence greatly to strengthen the aduersary, leauing hir former freindis in the bryers, she quietly framed hir self to temporise & serue the time, and thairfore offered to becum vmpier betuix both parties, howbeit in the meane tyme she discontinewed not hir wounted messages vnto the Prince of Conde, neither desisted frō hir secreit letters and clois interprysis, in termes quyte repugnant vnto hir outwatd speaches or publict letters writtin in the fauour of the Catholickes: She also stil desireth him for to persist in his former dealingis, assuring him, so to persuade the King of this his so faithfull seruice, that during his lyfe he suld neuer forget the same. She warneth him not to tak hould of any letter which ither the King or hir self sall be forced to wryte vnto him, for that in such respectis their willis be with their bodyis captiuated: Yea she procedeth

Quene Mother occasiō of the rysing of the prince of Conde & of the Admirall.

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so far, as that once she was mynded to haue conueyed both hir self and the King vnto Orleance, had not Monsieur de Sarlan who now is hir cheif steward perswaded hir vnto the contrary: Vpon these occasions the Prince of Conde remained steidfast in his first determination: These doings confirmed his Authoritie, interteyned his forces, and procured vnto him ayd both of men & money out of Germany and other places: The adwow of these letters, testifying that he was armed for the delyuerie of the King out of dãger, and that by the Kingis exprés commandement, haue caused vs to smart, insomuch that whereas before we might indifferently haue growen to sum agrement and end, she hath by these deuises now prolonged the warres, & wonderfully whetted and hardned the hartis of men, one against an other. At this point did she still remaine, maintayning the Catholickes with good countenances, and the Protestantis with effectis, vntil the tyme that the King of Nauarre hir competitour was slaine at the seige of Roan, whose deith was wonderful plesant vnto hir: and as nothing is more ruted in hir hart then ambition, euin so did his death caus hir presently to change copy.

Katherine sought to flie to Orleance.

The deith of the King of Nauarre.

Hidderto haue you sene how good a countenance she hath shewed vnto Religion, naming hir self a Protestant, only for inuy conceaued against the King of Nauarre: but now sall you se hir suddanely becum als vehement a Catholicke to spite the Prince of Conde. So long as hir cõpetitour the King of Nauarre liued and enioyed the Regiment, so long did she fauour his brother the Prince of Conde against him, and so consequently

Katherines alteration of Religion.

quently the Proteſtantis, of whom he was cheif: But now ſhe ſeeth hir ſelf by his deith deliuered from all feare of him, by meanes whereof, ſhe may without controulment gouern the Catholickes as ſemeth beſt to hir ſelf: Moreouer then that, ſhe alſo perſauing the Prince of Conde to be the nixt of the blood,& ſo conſequently neireſt vnto the Regiment, fearing leaſt he ſuld wax to ſtrong for hir, ſhe immediatly quareleth with him about gouernment: ſhe becũmeth his vtter enemie, ſhe wryteth hir letters vnto him in farre other ſtyle and wordes, then thre dayis before ſhe had done. Whereas before ſhe had procured him to tak armes in hir defence, whereby he was accoũted as a manifeſt enemie vnto all the great princes and cheifeſt Lordis of the Realme,& had alſo incurred great diſpleaſures, and was becum odious vnto the whole Kingdome of France, ſhe now willeth him in any wiſe to deſiſt from his purpoſe and intent, and commandeth him to forſake theſe cieties which he before had taken: Alſo in cace of his refuſall of theſe hir commandementes, ſhe denounceth againſt him open warre euen vnto outrance, notwithſtanding that before hir ſelf had bene author of his interpriſes and fauourer of his armes. To be breif, hir whole deuiſes tend only by meanes of the Catholickes, vtterly to ſubuert his townes, and deſtroy his perſon, and ſo by thair mutual rencounters to ſpoyle both parties, and by ouercumming the Proteſtãts ſo far furth as ſhe may to enfebliſh the Catholickes.

Katherine againſt the Prince of Conde.

Firſt thairfore to diſpatch the Prince of Conde, ſhe cauſeth him to be preſented with an ap-

Quene Mother ſeaketh to poiſon the Prince of Conde.

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ple impoiſoned by a Millaner named maiſter Re-
ne hir perfumer, which (had not his Surgeon
called la Groſſe miſdouting it by reaſon of the
place from whence it came plucked it out of his
hand and ſmelled vnto, whereby preſently was
procured an exceding ſwelling in his whole face)
vndoubtedly he had diſpatched him: for a dog vn
to whome they gaue the paringes and part of the
ſame with bread, dyed preſently in the place: But
ſhe ſeing this deuice tak no place, continued ſtill
the warres againſt him, contrary vnto the coun-
ſall and aduice of all ſuch Lordis and Capitaines
as had any charge in conducting of the Armie,
but eſpecially of my Lord the Conſtable and the
Lordis of Guiſe, who did in a maner ſmell out all
hir determinations. At this tyme ſhe procured
the bloody battell of Dreux vnto the wonderful
detriment of the whole Kingdome, wherein hir
ſelf only wan the feild. The Catholickes on thair
ſyde loſt Monſieur de Annebault, the Marſhal of
S. Andrewes, with many other gentilmen both of
Name and fame. The Proteſtantis loſt but few
men of any countenance, the Realme only loſt
all thoſe Lords and gentilmen whoſe death is the
Quene accompted vnto hir ſelf gayne. The Ca-
tholickes brought the Prince of Conde priſoner,
whome thay did commit into hir handis; The
Proteſtantis alſo tuke priſoner the Duke of Mō-
morency, high Conſtable, whome abou e all o-
ther ſhe feared by reaſon of his fre and playne
ſpeach. Now thair remained no more but the
Duke of Guiſe, of whome ſhe wold glaidly be
diſpatched: Him therefore brought ſhe vnto the
ſiege of Orleance, wherin was general Monſieur
de Ande-

Quene Mother mantey neth warre contrare the counſellis mynde.

The battaile of Dreux.

The Prince of Conde priſoner.

The Conſtable priſoner.

de Andelot, with ſo valiant a crew of men, that she could not tak it, without great los of hir ſoul diers and Capitanis, which in deid was the principal gayne that therby she hoped of. In the meãe tyme it ſo fell out, that an Poltrot ſlew the Duke of Guiſe in maner as all the world knoweth: of whoſe death whither she were more glad or ſory, the brethren of this pure Lord might manifeſtly perceaue, euin in that, that hir ſelf culd not forbear from ſaying vnto the Prince of la Rochſuryone, that by his death she had loſt one of the men whome in the world she moſt hated: Vnto the Prince of Conde alſo (at that tyme hir priſoner) ſaying that by this mans death, the Kingdõe was diſcharged of a great burthen, she anſwered thus: If the Kingdome be eaſed of on intollerable charge, ſo is my hart of more then ten: This was the recompence of all his great labours and trauellis: This thankes reaped he at hir handis, for loſing his lyfe at hir commandement: This good will may his Children be inheritours vnto: This rewaird belongeth vnto all ſuch as trauaill in hir affairis, the lyk wherof, we all may attend at hir handis: Glaidly wald she haue bene reuenged and vtterly ouerthrowen the Proteſtantis: The Admirall ſtopped hir: he was to ſtrong for hir: he was cheif Gouernour and maiſter of Normãdy: he had payed his Reiſters: and did leid them toward Orleance in full purpoſe to giue hir batsayl: But she now had no more Capitaines left, which wer of any countenance or authoritie to withſtãd him, wherby it was to be feared leſt she ſuld haue bene forced to zeild the prince of Conde, who peraduenture wald efterward haue takin vpon him the Regiment: whereupon she

The Duke of Guiſe ſlaine.

The recompence of the Duke of Guiſe ſeruice.

The Admirall to ſtrõg for Katherin

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forcasting what might insew, determined to con-
Peace concluded. clude a peace with them, and so to attend some more conuenient tyme and occasion to be dis-patched of the rest. In the meane tyme, during his imprisonment the Prince of Conde was becũ enamored of Madam Liniueil one of the Que-
Quene Mothers practises to atteine to hir purpose. nes Maydens, whome she had giuen him to passe away his tyme, and to sport him self withall (for ordinarily she vsed many honest practises & deuises wherby to atteyne vnto hir purpose and intent) which notwithstanding yet was he wery of his imprisonment and so was my Lord the Constable: whereupon very suddenly she concluded the peace, yea in such hast, that she permitted not the Prince, tyme to common of the same either by letter or mouth with the Admirall, which was
The Lordsof Guise made authors of al the troubles. expresly done, to the end that men might attribute the whole occasion of all the former warres (as already most men began to gadder thairof) vnto the Lordis of Guise, wherby thay might beir the whole blame thairof, seing the peace so sone concluded after his deceis throughout the whole Kingdome.

In this place was the fre exercise of thair Religion granted vnto the Protestants, although not in so ample maner as by the Edict of Ianuary it was permitted: Their rysing and taking of Armes was also iustified and aduowed, and thair strangers payed out of the Kingis treasure:
The seige of Newhauen. Wheras also the Inglismen wer determined to withould Newhauen, it was recouered by an army assembled both of Catholickes & Protestãtis, whereat both the King and the Quene Mother, and the Prince of Conde wer personally present,

query

euery man indeuoring to ſhew his enemy, with how good a will he intended to do his Princes ſeruice.

At the returne from Newhauen ſhe cauſed to proclaime the King hir ſonnes maioritie, who was betwene fourtene and fyftene yeares of age, notwithſtanding many ſuppoſed it to be to ſone, and vtterly repugnant vnto all ancient examples: But to what intent ſhe did it, it was eaſie to gadder: For the Prince of Conde had ſhewed ſome liklyhood that he determined to tak vpon him the gouernment, as the neireſt of the blood wher unto ſhe had oppoſed his brother the Cardinall of Burbon, alledgeing that notwithſtanding he had takin degreis and wer benefieed in the Kirk, yet did the Regiment belong as much vnto him as to his brother. Howbeit to the end to tak frō the Prince all occaſions of farther ſpeach, from the mighty all menes to withſtand hir practiſes, and generally, from all men all cauſes of requyring that the Eſtatis might be holden, according to the ordour takin during the Kingis minoritie, that thay ſuld neuer be delayed aboue from two zeiris vnto two zeiris, ſhe (as is is ſaid) proclamed his maioritie, vnder cullour whereof ſhe mighe ſtill rule & gouern in his Name whom ſhe mighe force and cōmand to do or ſay whatſoeuer vnto hir ſemed moſt conuenient: which did appeir the nixt day by ſuch imperiall wordis as ſhe procured him to pronounce vnto the cheifeſt, euin vnto the Deputies of the Eſtatis, wheras neuertheles, other our Kingis his predeceſſors, euin in thair maiorities, neuer thought or accompted thair Regimentis ſurely eſtablithed, without the

King Charles maioritie proclamed.

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conſens

consent and authoritie of their principall Officers aſwell of Armes as of Iuſtice. After this fundation layd, ſhe proceded on in hir buylding by ſeiking meanes to deminiſh the Authoritie of the Kingis preuie counſell by whome all notabil affairis of our eſtait haue vſually bene gouerned:

Quene Mothers petty counſells.

She vſed alſo to hold petty counſels in the eares of two or thre perſons of ſimple reputation, whō after the maner of hir Vncle Clement she moſt hartely loued for hir cheif and ſecreiteſt affairis: namely with Monſieur du Peron, who not long before had bene Clark to one of the purueyers of the Campe, and ſone after became maſter of the Kingis Warderobe, but now is created an of the Marſhalls of France: whileſt in the meane tyme the King did mak no accompt of any his affairis either great, either ſmall, thairin reſembling a dū perſon in a ſtage play, who ſerueth for nothing but to walk vpō the ſtage, neither ſpeaketh more then is whiſpered into his eares: as in deid ſhe was loth that thairin he ſuld atteine to the knawledge of any more: but rather lyk, as in his childhode at his cōming to the Crowne ſhe permitted him, forſaking his Scholemaiſter, to paſſe away his tyme with a Top and a ſcurge ſtick (being but euill Prognoſtications) & to haunt nothing but Cokpits, euin ſo now ſhe indeuoreth contrary vnto his diſpoſition and nature to corrupt his zouth, cauſing him to be intiſed by baudes, whōe ſhe placeth nixt vnto his owē perſon: yea hir ſelf is not aſhamed to becū his baude, lyke as ſhe had bene vnto the King of Nauarre & the Prince of Conde, all which hir practiſes tended only vnto the cauſing of him to forget his owen affairis &

The Kinges bringing vp.

The Kinge corrupted by baudes.

to the

to the making of him drunkin in all delytes, as moſt men do know it, and my ſelf do in hart abhor to wryte any more of the ſame: For ſhe ſo lulled him in theſe aforeſaid pleaſures, that he neuer came vnto counſell but by importunate ſute of diuers, who miſlyked his lewde bringing vp. To bring the Prince of Conde alſo into obloquye and ſclander among his frendis, ſhe ſtill interteined him at the coſt of Liniuels honour who thereby became great with Child: for the which, when the Quene ſet a gay fair face on the matter, was beginning to reproue hir: ſhe was ſo malepart as to mak anſwer that herein ſhe had but followed hir example and fulfilled hir cõmãdement. My Lord Cõſtable ſemed in a maner the only ouerthrower and confounder of moſt hir practiſes & deuiſes: For he hauing ſo long before borne ſway, culd not now abyde to ſe hir gouern all things without his aduice or opinion: much les wald he cõdiſcend vnto moſt hir demands & requeſtis which highly diſpleaſed hir ambitious nature: yet nothing ſo much troubled hir mynd, as to ſe the Lordis of Chaſtillion the Conſtables Neuewes in his fauour, notwithſtãding thair differẽce in Religiõ: Alſo that throughout all Frãce the gentilmẽ both Catholickes & Proteſtantis, & the cõmõ people did now by menes of this peace greatly reunite & knit thẽ ſelues togidder again, daily forgetting former ennemities and rancours proceding of mutual ſlaughters cõmitted during the former broyles, for in deid ſhe feared leſt yat by meanes of this accord & agremẽt, the mightier ſort wald oppoſe them ſelues againſt hir Regiment, through the ſupporte of the Nobilitie:

Quene Mother ſeaketh to diffame the Prince of Conde.

The aggrement of the Lordes of Chaſtillon with the Conſtale, giuous vnto Quene Mother.

Againe,

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Againe that the meaner ſort, wold by the ſupport of the mighty men indeuour to aboliſh all taxes and impoſtes, which daylie ſhe leuied for the maintenance of hir exceſſiue charges, wonderful giftis and intollerable prodigalitie, contrary vnto the tolleration of the whole Eſtatis, finally that all men in generall wald withſtand the practiſes of certaine Italyen Raſcals, who already in words poſſeſſed hir and wer at a point to tak vpon them the diſpoſing of both the King and Kingdome, and in very deid, many began already to murmure at thair dealingis: But ſhe who was not ignorant, how all theſe abuſes aforenamed culd not be redreſſed without ſum perfite reconciliation, alſo that no reconſiliation culd tak place, before that a few quiet and peaciable zeiris had ſo paſſed ouer as that during the ſame, one man might be acquainted and enured with an others conditions: determined with hir ſelf to trouble this peace, which ſuld procure and breid all ſuch quyetnes as is aforeſaid, and for the bringing of hir purpoſes to paſſe, to renew the ancient quarels for Religion, which otherwiſe wer in a maner quyte forgottin and buried in obliuion. To bring theſe maters to effect ſhe procured the king to tak vpō him his goodly iorney vnto Bayonne, wherin she ſpent infinite treaſures, vnder cullour of cauſing his Maieſtie to viſite his dominions: but in deid hir intent was to ſtirre vp the moſt troubleſum and euill diſpoſed perſons in each towne and prouince through the which she trauailled: ſum by brybes and giftis, ſum with honoures (for in this voyage, to that intent ſhe created ſondry noble men) & ſome through a blind

aliens about to take pon thē the rdering of e Kingdōe

e Kinges ogres vnto yonne.

ene Mors practidurīg hir acy.

zeale

zeale vnto Religion, for the ruting out of the protestantes, hir voyage also tended in part to consult with the Duke de Alba concerning the meanes how yet once againe to molest this Realme, wherein I do leaue vnto all mens iudgemẽtis whither that so auncient, and capytall ane enemy of the Crowne of France, wold refraine frõ opening vnto hir, notable pretencis how to bring our whole kingdom to vtter subuersiõ & decay.

Quene Mother consulteth with the Duke of Alba.

After hir returne from Bayonne, hauing takin order in all placis as she passed for dispatch of hir affairis, she came vnto Molyns wher as intending so far forth as possible she might, to put in practise the counsall of the Duke de Alba, namely to catch the salmons before the Frogs, she dayly sollicited the Admirall and Monsieur de Andilot to cum vnto the Court wheras the Prince of Conde at the same tyme soiorned, and this did she in full mynd to dispatch them all at once, howbeit thay excused them selues by thair priuate quarels with the Lordis of Guise, and thairfore desired not to be forced to cum into euident danger of thair persons: but she immediatly cauled both parties vnto Molins aforesaid, intending (as she said) to agre them togidder: howbeit in very deid only in hope that at sum meting, thay wald one fall out and quarell with another, and so cõming vnto handy strokes, shew hir sum pastime? Otherwise if that way wald not serue, at the least, the Admirall suld haue no more excuse whereby to absent him self from the Court, this agremẽt being once passed betuix them. To be breif, she fully did perswade hir self that this accord culd atteyne vnto no better end, saue only to conuert

Quene Mother seaketh to bring the Admirall to Molyns.

The Admirall and the Duke of Guise agreed, to what en

their

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their opē ennemitie into ſecreit rancour, yea and peraduenture might be the meanes wherby ſhe might be diſpatched of one of the parties if not of both: But thay come ſo well accōpanyed, beſides ſuch ſupport and countenance as my Lord the Cōſtable did ſhew vnto them, that thay culd by no meanes be intrapped: and from that tyme forward they continually found meanes not to be all at once at the Court: Wherefore when ſhe found them more circūſpect then ſhe wald haue wiſhed: ſhe proſecuted hir firſt determination: and ſent into Zuitzerland for ſix thouſand Zuitzers, vnder cullour to preuent the troupes of the Duke of Alba, which paſſed along our borders towardes Flanders wheras hir full determinatiō was to ſet vpon the Prince of Conde, with the reſt of the Proteſtantis on the ſudden, for the Spanzards wer paſſed before the Zuitzers came, & beſides that whatſoeuer ſuld haue happēned, the Frenchmen had bene ſufficient to haue reſiſted and reſtrained them from doing any harme.

uene Moer ſédeth Zuitzers ainſt the otcſtantis

Now after the returne from Bayon the Prince of la Rochſuryon, pietying ſuch euils as he did foreſe, ready to light vpon this Realme, had reuealed vnto his Coſſen the Prince of Conde, aſwell by a Meſſinger ſent on purpoſe, as alſo with his owen mouth, euin lying vpon his deith bed, the whole diſcours of the interpriſe cōcluded at Bayon againſt him and all the Proteſtantis; affirming that vntill this preſent he had concealed it, partly in hope it might haue bene brokin of & maid voyd by ſū meanes whatſoeuer; partly alſo leaſt him ſelf ſuld haue by reuealing the ſame ſemed a ſteirer vp of new troubles: but now ſeing

e Prince Rochſu- on diſclo- h all the terminati, is of Bay- to the nce of Cō

that

that it went ſtill forward, he, in diſcharge of his conſcience, did reueale the ſame, leaſt him ſelf ſuld through his foly permit the diſtruction of ſo many Noble, verteous and honeſt perſons, among whome alſo, wer diuers his neir Kinſmen. And to ſay the treuth, he might go neirer vnto the marck then any other, by reaſon that he had trauayled the whole iorney in hir company, and during the ſame was of hir moſt familier & cheif allyes: Howbeit after their interpriſe at Bayon he conſidering the conſequence of the ſame, did ſecretly approch and draw neare vnto the Prince of Conde, pretēding to match him vnto his niece the Duke of Neuers widow, with a great portion of his goodes.

Againe the Marſhall of Bourdillon lying at the poinct of death at Fountayn beleau, had openly before diuers perſons, reported vnto ſuch of his freindis as come for to viſite him that, now death was moſt welcum vnto him, in that by the ſame he ſuld be preuented from ſeing ſuch miſeries as ſhortly wald happen: for ſaid he, before that ſix Monethis be cōmin and gone, thair will happen ſuch a confuſion throughout the whole Kingdome of France, that no man ſalbe aſſured either of lyfe or goodes. Bourdillons lamentation ouer France.

Theſe wer wonderfull warningis, proceding from two of the cheifeſt fautors of this interpriſe.

About the ſame tyme alſo that the Zuitzers marched, a pure Proteſtāt who was fallin on ſleip in the counſell Chalmer, vpon a ſtep behind the hangings, chāced to heir the meanes debated vpō, how this practiſe might be put to execution. A Proteſtāt ſleipeth in the counſell Chalmer.

Againe

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Againe the counsell of Trent was ready to be proclaimed, and the Zuitzers drew neir vnto the Court to begin the army against all such as wald not obey the same: Moreouer my Lord the duke of Aniow at the Quenes requeſt, began a dronken or Dutch quarell against the Prince of Conde at S. Germayns, wherein he proceded so far as to set hand vnto his dagger, scarce permitting vnto the Prince so long respitr as by slyght to preuent an ambushe layd for him vnder cullour of going on hunting.

The publication of the counsell of Trent.

The Duke of Aniow quareleth with the Peince of Conde.

The Prince of Portian was already poysoned with a pair of Gloues perfumed after Master Rene his maner, and daylie thay sought for ané, meir to practise the lyke Phisicke towardes the rest.

The Prince of Portian poysoned.

The Prince of Conde thairfore considering all these manifest tokens of euill will, and persaving their preparations ready to execute these interprises by all meanes possible: fully resolued with his men and freindly company to tak weapon in hand: For already the most part of their libertie in Religiõ was cut of (as to confesse the treuth I know not any, who seing such preparatiõs, wald not haue done the lyke) and for almuch as the Quene had diuers tymes geuin to him to vnderstand that all these practises, proceded principally from the Lordis of Guise, he determined by force to expell and chace them from the Court, and for the same purpose came toward Meaux, where then the Court lay, from whence, vpõ the first noyse of his marching, the Lordis of Guise aforesaid did withdraw them selues: This was the originall of our secund ciuil warres in this Kingdome. We do reproue the Prince of Conde and his men

The Prince of Conde determined to resist.

The Protestantes come before Meaux.

The original of the secũd ciuill warres

his men for the ſame (my intent heirin is not to excuſe him, for I wald to God he had ſought ſū other meanes.) But whoſoeuer doth conſider in what danger thair liues cōſiſted, in caſe thay had neuer ſo lytill refrained, ſall of force be compelled to attribute the principall cauſes, vnto the pernicious and wicked practiſes of the Quene, who contrary to the publick fayth confirmed with the Kingis owne word, which ought to be euin truth it ſelf, wold vtterly haue ruted them out. For like as in cace of combates, he which firſt ſetteth hand to his ſword is more coulpable then he that firſt ſtriketh: euen ſo in warlike affairis, he that firſt breaketh peace, is more blameworthy for all the miſhiefes which the other doeth commit in cace he intendeth fully to obſerue the ſame.

The Proteſtantes at their remouing frō thence, drew towardis Paris, whether the King was gone whereas after ſundry parlies, there was a battell fought, in the which many gentlemen of eyther party were ſlayn, from whence alſo my Lord the Conſtable caried his deathes wound into Paris, wheras (notwithſtanding that not long before he was fallin out with the Prince of Conde in a certaine parle of peace) and now prouoked againe by a ſtripe newly receaued which had bene ſufficient to haue moued him to ſeik reuenge: Yet notwithſtanding al this, I ſay, he was ſo affectionat vnto the publict cōmoditie & cōmon welth of this Realme, and ſo far bent, rather vntō reaſon, then reuenge (how vehemēt ſo euer his g[illegible] wer) that at ſuch tyme as the Quene came to viſite him, he motioned nothing vnto hir, but the concluſion of a peace with all haiſt poſſible, in

The Proteſtantes come before Paris

The battayl of S. Dioniſe

The Conſtable wounded.

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theſe wordis, The breifeſt folyis be the beſt, and thairfore he exhorteth hir, that as ſhe wiſhed the proſperitie of the Realme, ſo ſuld she deſiſt from farther diſquyeting the ſame vpon any occaſion whatſoeuer, proponing vnto hir, how lamẽtable it was, waſted through the ſlaughters and loſſe of ſo much Nobilitie: howbeit all theſe wordis wer in vayne, for thoſe reaſons which he did alledge to moue hir to peace, thoſe ſame did ſhe wreſt vnto warre: where he opened vnto hir the loſſe, ſhe cõcluded it to be hir gayne: and from whẽce ſo euer he ſaw the deſtruction of the Realme, ſhe promyfed vnto hir ſelf, that from the ſame place ſhe ſuld obteine hir owen eſtabliſhment. By his death ſhe is now diſpatched of the man whome ſhe moſt feared, whoſe death how ſhe bewailed it is well knowen, in that ſhe ſought to bring his Name into ſclander of the Pariſians, lyke as before ſhe had aſſayed to bring his lyfe. Sone after this thair came ſum Reiſters out of Germany to the ayd of both parties: But ſhe durſt hardly gif any credite vnto thoſe whome the Duke Iohn of Saxony had brought in hir fauour, becaus he was Sõe in law vnto ỳ Palatine elector, & manteined the confeſſion of Auſbourge: On the other ſide the Prince of Conde hoped to tak Chartres, & with the ſpoyle of the ſame to pay his mẽ, wherfore theſe two reaſons moued hir fully to conclude a peace, procuring the famely of Mommorency to becum motioners of the ſame, and promiſing vnto the proteſtantes ſome part of thair requeſtis: but for as much as hir faith was greatly ſuſpected, ſhe now ſware a thouſand othes, that ſhe wold neuer conſent to breaking of it, and cauſed the

Quene Mother wriſtes the Conſtables coũſall.

The death of the Conſtable.

Ayde out of Germany.

Peace agane concluded, but not vnconſtrayned.

fed the King soleply to swear vnto the same, as if it wer but a tryfle to promyse vpon the word of a King, and then to falsifie the same, & but a smal offence to prophaine his oth and faith. By this meanes the peace was sone concluded, but vnto what intent, it was quickly sene: for hir only intent was to caus the Prince of Conde to dissolue his army, to send home his Germaines, and to moue each man to reteir vnto his owen habitation, which he performed within the tyme vnto him by this peace limited: wheras she contrary-wise framed and deuised all preparations vnto warre, during the tyme that these Artickles of peace wer a wryting. I trust thair be no Catholickes, but will grant me that either we must promise nothing vnto the Protestantis, either els we must performe whatsoeuer we haue promysed: For our keiping our othes vnto any, it is not so much in respect of his owen person, as for the honour which we owe vnto God, whome we call vnto witnes in our doingis, and for the discharge of our owen consciences, neither can I se what is to be luked for in all our humaine dealingis, in case our faith, which ought to be the only band be despised: Haue we not sene Hõgary destroyed for hauing at the perswasion of a Cardinall, falsified thair faith vnto the Turck? Ar we ignorant what happened vnto vs whẽ at the persuite of Cardinall Caraffa, during his Papacy we brak with the Empreour and the King of Spaine: Ar not al Histories repleniſhed with such examples? Assuredly no man may falsifie his faith vnto any whome so euer, without great offence vnto god, remorse of his owen conscience, and blemish vn-

Satisfying of the Kinges othe.

Quene Mother prepareth for warres.

Faith not to be falsified.

to his honour: much les thē ought a prince so to deale, who suld be in respect, a Sanctuary vnto his subiectes, whome he is bound to loue, euen as the Father loueth his Children, & in case they be as it wer sicke, diseased, or corrupted, he suld lyke a perfite Phisition, cure, dresse, heale, & cause them to be luked vnto. Now thairfore mark how she keapeth hir owen oth, and after what maner she caused the King to keip his. First she placed watch at the briggis, gates and passages of all Riuers, thairby to restraine the Protestantis from any more assembling togidder: Afterward she obteined a Bull from the Pope dated in Iuly, whereas the peace was concluded but in Marche before, in so much that thair wanted tyme to solicite the same. By this Bull she was permitted to sell fyftie thousand Frankes of rent of the téporalities of spirituall men, conditionally it suld be all bestowed vpon the ruting out of the Protestantis: At this Bull did the Chancellar called la Hospitall finde great fault, affirming in open counsall that the same did greatly derogate frō the Kingis honour, in as much as heirof, strangers wald conclude, that the King had maid this peace purposely to the end to abuse his owē subiectis. Also she compasseth a loofe the houses of the Prince of Conde, the Admiral, and Monsieur de Andelot, fully purposing to surprise them at a tyme appointed: she hunteth them from hous to hous: She layeth a thousand snairis to catche thē: Finally she sendeth Monsieur de Goliaz into Burgondy only to apprehend the Prince of Conde who then lay at his hous in Noyars. She sought also to tak the Admirall at Tauley by

meanes

meanes prescribed vnto Monsieur de Tauannes? But it chanced that sum of Monsieur de Tauãnes his letters wer intercepted and brought vnto the Prince of Conde, in the which he aduertised hir highnes in these wordis. The beast is in the Nettis, and thairupon demanded when she suld execute this interprise, and vpon this warning the Prince with his wyfe and children: passing ouer the Riuer of Loyre at a shallowe the same night, withdrew him self toward Rochell, which only was exempt from Garnison, where he ariued in the moneth of September. Heir may you behold vs entered into new troubles, greater then before, through the only periury of this woman, who resembleth the malicious surgeons, who will neuer permit our woundes to grow vp againe, least in so doing, she suld lose all hir gaines heirby: Now thairfore marcke vnto what deuises she hath recourse in this hir raging sorrow, consaued of that, that she culd not bring hir practises to passe.

All men of any conscience did continually abhor, treasonalles, and also among other treasons did principally detest poyson, not permitting the practising and putting of the same in vre, euin among thair mortal enemies, which notwithstanding with Katherine de Medicis is but a sporte: For she sendeth out Italiens into the Princes army with cõmission to poyson and bring it wholy to death at once, yea she caused at one tyme to deliuer vnto one man ten thousand Frankis to bestow vpon stuffe, which he promised to fine for that purpose, with poyson did she solicite the seruantis and officers of the Princes of Conde, the

Quene Mothers coiss bestowed põ poyson

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Admirall, and Monſieur de Andelot, to deſtroy thair Maiſters: Others alſo ſhe hyreth to murther them, promyſing vnto them both penſions and great rewardis for thair miſcheuous paines. The order of S. Michaell cuſtumably beſtowed vpon men without reproche, whereby thay becū brethrē vnto Kingis, is now promyſed vnto traitours and murtherers, in caſe thay may atteyne vnto thair intentis. In the firſt battel the Prince of Conde being takin vnder his hors, had zeilded him ſelf to Monſieur de Argence, who gaue him his faith to ſaue his lyfe, but in the meane tyme one Monteſquion the Capitaine of the Duke of Aniow his garde, who, contrary vnto all Law of armes, againſt promyſed faith, without worde ſpeaking, blow geuing, or any warning, and nothing reſpecting his diſcent, came behind him, & ſo ſhot him into the head with a Dagge: So well was ſhe prouyded at all aſſayis, leaſt this pure Prince ſuld finde any meanes to eſcape.

The Prince of Conde taken & mūrthered.

The Admirall and Monſieur de Andelot his brother gat both away, but wer ſhortly after poyſoned at a Bancket, whereof the one dyed, and the other very extreamely ſicke, did hardly recouer: and the doer of this traiterous fact at his execution cōfeſſed that the Quene hir ſelf had procured him to do the ſame. With in a while after ſhe cauſed to ſuborne Dominico de Alua, the Admirals Chamberleine (at the ſame tyme that he, going toward the Duke of Bipont about his Lordis affairis, was by the Catholickes takin priſoner) and cauſed to delyuer vnto him a Bagge wherein was a very ſubtil poyſon, with an excellent ſword, willing him either with the one, either

The Admiral & Monſieur de Andelot poyſoned.

Dominico de Alua ſubpined.

ther with the other, according as moſt conue-
niently he culd, to mak away his Lord & Mai-
ſter, wherein he miſlyked of his purpoſe: for be-
ing detected and conuict, he openly confeſſed the
whole treaſon, and receauing for the ſame moſt
condigne iudgement, was executed.

Notwithſtanding none of all theſe practiſes
came to effect, yet did ſhe not quaile: For one
named Maureuet vndertuke to kill him, howbe-
it afterward, conſidering that without great dã-
ger he culd not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, ſum-
what to acquit his promiſe: he murthered Mon-
ſieur de Mouy his Capitaine and benefactor, for
which deid ſhe aſſigned vnto him a penſion out
of the townhous of Paris, wherewith the better
to incourage him to vther the lyke practiſes, in
which he is now becum perfite. Thus may you
ſe that thair ar no meanes which ſhe accounteth
not lawfull and honeſt, how abhominable ſo e-
uer thay be, in caſe thay will ſerue to the ruting
out of thoſe whome ſhe hateth: wherefore we
neid no longer to ſtand vpon this point, that ſhe
hateth them for their Religion, for whoſoeuer
vſeth any ſuch practiſes, is aſſuredly voyde bothe
of conſcience and Religion.

Monſieur de Mouy ſlaine.

Againe no man can becum ſo Catholicke in
one day, as it is euident that ſhe did the ſame day
that the King of Nauarre was ſlayne: But it is an
only deſire of reuenge & a cankered malice aga-
nis the mighty which boyleth in hir breiſt, & aſ-
ſure your ſelues that ſhortly you ſall ſe hir prac-
tiſe the ſame deuiſes againſt the moſt earneſt ca-
tholickes in this Realme.

¶ Well the Duke of Biponte bryngeth ſeuen

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he Duke of Bipontis cõminge into France.

thousand reistres vnto the ayd of the protestãts, whose caus is acounted Iust among the Princes of Germany, by reson of such manyfold treasons as thay had hard to be practised in Frãce for the ruting out of the professoures of thair Religion in the same countrie: Monsieur de Aumale hath an army lying vpon the Frontiers, him doeth the Quene command, omitting all kynde of perrill whatsoeuer, to fight with the Duke: whereupon he assembleth the principall of his army to demãd thair counsall and aduise: They find them selues to waik to fight with him: & do meruell that she maketh so small accompte of the Frenche Nobilitie, as to force them to fight against such power of strangers as they can not ouercome without great losse of Catholickes, who also in case they be ouercomin do nothing diminishe the nomber of the protestants in thair owen Realme, wher-vpon after long disputations it was concluded to let them pas without battell, for which caus the Quene sought (according to the prouerbe, to cast the catte betwene his legges, vsing most bitter wordes against him to the end to bring him out of the King hir sonnes fauour, yea she sought couertly to haue attributed vnto him the losse of La Charite, with al vther the harmes which the Reisters had cõmitted throughout the whole realme To be breife she affirmed it to be but pultring to giue coũsall not to fight, at all such tymes as this womans appetite serued thairunto: also that it was treason to dout the hasard of the French nobilitie at euery chance, yea or to refuse to put the to the office of Miners and labourers.

uene Mother seaketh discredite e Duke de umale.

What more euident proofe culd any man desire: In

sire: In this thair warre, which continewed more longer and shairp then either of the other two, thair wer two great feildis fought, where also hir self sumtimes came vnto the army, to the end the more to incourage the souldiers: there happened many metingis, Skirmishes, sieges, with other feates of armes, wherein many aswell Protestãtis as Catholickes, Lordis, gentilmen, Capitaines, & commons, ended thair liues.

I can not meruell although she reioyced in the death of any Protestant, notwithstanding the losse of many of them was greatly to be lamẽted, and that a Prince who loueth his subiectis can not delyte in their destructions, howsoeuer they haue deserued, for as we reid Dauid bewailed the death of his Sonne Absolon, notwithstanding he had openly reuolted and rebelled against him: But I will refer my self vnto those who wer attendant cõtinually vpõ hir person, desiring their trew report of such lamentations as she maid for the death of any French Lord slaine in hir quarrell or seruice, as the late Monsieur Martigues, the County of Byron or such lyke, whome all ỹ warld bewaileth: Also of hir sorow for the common misery of all the countrie, & how greuously she tuke any heauy tydingis: nay contrariwise haue not most men sene hir opẽly reioyce at the death of thre or four Protestantis, whose slaughter had bene bought with the blood of a hũdred Catholicke gentilmen? such as alwayes wer curriers from the Campe can trewly mak report, and whereof may a man gadder that this procedeth, saue only of a determination planted in hir brest, to rute out the Catholicke Nobilitie with the blood

Quene Mothers sorow for the deith of the Nobilitie.

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blood of the Proteſtãtis gentilmen, whereby ſhe ſal gayne, on which ſide ſo euer the loſſe turneth.

We haue no caus to wonder that ſhe ſo wel loued this game, ſeing ſhe playeth ſo ſure thairat, neither ſo far as we can gadder is ſhe mynded to do any vther thing: yet muſt we once againe after ſuch loſſe of people, deſtruction of Nobilitie, murther of gentilmen and ſouldiers, and wonderfull expenſes of money, returne to ſpeake of peace.

Peace cõcluded. Anno. 1570.

Germany threaten vs: we ſuſpect Englond, our army is repleniſhed with diuiſions and Ielouzye, our Nobilitie reiected, and our people weary of paymentis of money: vpon theſe cauſes after infinite treatiſe, peace is concluded: now thairfore marck what we haue gayned by the laſt breach: we muſt now giue out, that the Proteſtantis haue takin weapon for the Kingis ſeruice, whereby it is euident that we haue ſlaine his ſeruitours: we muſt enter into bondes to pay their Reiſters: we muſt permit to them the exerciſe of their Religion, yea & that which is more, the Kingis faith is now of ſo ſmall accompt by reaſon it hath ſo often bene falſified through the periury of one woman, who gouerneth, that we muſt giue four Cieties as Hoſtages and pledges for the trew obſeruance of this peace: for vtherwiſe I pray you who dare truſt thairin? Thus ar all our warres vnprofitable, & our coyne caſt doun the ſtreame. Had it not (I pray you) bene far more conuenient quyetly to haue permitted vnto euery one the peacible enioying of ſuch order as the Eſtatis haue accompted moſt expedient for the commõ welth and in the meane tyme to haue ſought to

reduce

reduce into the right way the Proteſtants by ſermons, admonitions, and exhortations, rather then thus at the perſwaſion of a woman, who careth not for the one, neither loueth the vther, and regardeth no kynde of Religion, to ſlay & murther one an other? Aſſuredly if euer peace deſerued, in reſpect of promyſed faith, to be obſerued, vndoutedly then ought this inuiolably to be kept. The King ſware vnto it faithfully in open counſall: The Quene his Mother and Monſieurs his brethren wer not to ſeik in the lyke dealings: All the Officers of the Court and Crowne, The Lordis of the preuie counſall: the Courtes of parliament: The great counſal: The Gouernours of the Prouinces: The Proueſt, Baillies & Schireffis of the Cietie of Paris. To be breif, all men in authoritie in the common welth and Kingdome, ar heirunto ſworne: The Quene of Englond & the Princes of Germany do ſend verye honorable Ambaſſadoures for to congratulate the Kingis Mariage with the Empreoures daughter? vnto all theſe doeth he promiſe, inuiolably to maintaine this peace, as moſt neceſſary to the conſeruation of his Kingdome: In ſomme there wanted no kynde of aſſurance that culd be inuented to mak it autenticall: heirafter ſall you ſe what account ſhe maid of the blaſoning and ſclander of the Kingis oth in all places, yea and of the procuring of the whole Nobilitie to be periured and diffamed, notwithſtanding moſt of them can not do with all. The Quene of Nauarre, the Princes of Nauarre and Conde, the Admirall, with vther the principall of the Proteſtantis, remained at Rochell vntill the fury of the people wer ſlaked, whereby

The oth for the keipinge of the peace.

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wherby the Quene had ſmall power to hurt the: But this deuilliſh womā who neuer culd be quiet or tak any pleſure except in vther mens harmes, findeth vther meanes for to keip hir ſelf occupyed after hir wonted maner: For ſhe miſſed narowly from diſpatching the Duke of Guiſe now liuing, euin preſently vpon his returne from the warres, wher he had trauailed as al mē do know, and this was the deuice.

The Duke of Guiſe in dāger.

The Lady Margaret hir daughter ſhewed an cheirfull countenance toward him, as toward a luſty Lord, and zoung gentilman, who was welcum to all men and already had ſhewed great tokens of his proweſſe and promyſed mighty matters in tyme to cum: the Quene perſauing this giueth to the late King and the Duke of Aniow, ſence King of Pole, and now King of France to vnderſtād that the ſaid Duke of Guiſe began to fanſy and offer loue to hir daughter, their ſiſter: This did ſhe perſwade them that they ought not to permit, neither was it meit to ſuffer ſuche a meane Gallant (for that was hir phraſe) ſo far to preſume, as once to think to mary his Maiſters ſiſter: yea ſhe maid his caſe ſo heynous in their ſightis, that they concluded vpon his deith. To be breif, the Duke of Aniow, notwithſtanding he had before ſingularly loued him, did now wait for him in a Gallery, to ſheath his Dagger in the ſaid Duke of Guiſes hart as he ſuld paſſe by: howbeit whither it were that he called to minde ſuch ſeruices as his predeceſſours before tyme and his brother not long ſince, had receaued at the handis of both his Anceſtours & himſelf alſo, or whither vpon any vther occaſion: but he

The Duke of Aniow wayeth to kill the Duke of Guiſe.

he refrained: Neuertheles ſhortly after the King through the importunate ſuite of his Mother, did delyuer a ſword & a dagger vnto Mõſieur le grãd Prior his natural brother, willing him that at ſuch tyme as his Maieſtie went to the aſſembly he ſuld alwayis ryde nixt vnto him, & in caſe the Duke of Guiſe wald, according to his vſual maner, preaſe betuix them, he ſuld in earneſt quarell and aſſayle him, yea the King gaue him men to ayde him if neid wer: Well the time drew on, the Duke of Guiſe, after his wonted vſe, thruſt in betwene them: The grand Prior maketh as he wald iuſtle him back: howbeit, wer it their ancient amitie, or the doutfull end that might cũ thereof, he proceeded no farther: whereupon the King for a tyme ſhewed to him but ſimple cheare, making an ſmall accompt of him, yea the Quene in reproche of his birth, ſaid that it had bene a wonder if euer he had done a valiant deid. Admit the Duke of Guiſe (as ordinarily zoung men do cõceaue hope) had pretended vnto this Mariage, ſuld this be firſt tyme that the hous of Lorreyn was allyed to the line of France? Is it not ſo preſently? Put the caſe it is not. Who is neuertheles ignorant that loue is a diſeaſe vnprouyded of moſt warldly conſiderations, which oftentymes maryeth the Scepter vnto the Shepehooke, and the Imperiall Pallaces vnto Cabbins? Was it neceſſary for this deid, ſo rigorouſly to conſpire the deith of ſo valiant a Lord? Well the treuth is that hir diſeaſe lay not in that place: We be not ſo difficult to be intreated in loue matters, as we mak for: we obſerue not therein all the breifes and longes, as we wald men ſuld ſuppoſe: But the matter

An other practiſe againſt the duke of Guiſe.

The grand Prior a baſtard.

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matter was this: He is a yong Lord, well trained vp, the ſonne of one of the moſt valiant Capitanes of our tyme, & in his childheid hath ſhewed a heart worthie ſuch a Father: We wald thairfore be rid of him: warre culd not conſume him: we muſt then finde ſum vther occaſion to diſpatche him, ſo ſuld both Father & Sone receaue their wages for all their ſeruice in lyke coyne: She reioyceth at the Fathers death: She is ſory to ſe the Sone liue: But omitting theſe matters let vs now returne to the obſeruation of the peace.

To what ed the Proteſtants wer desired to the wedding.

The King being ready to Mary the Empreoures daughter, his Mother cauſeth to inuite the Proteſtantis Capitaines to the wedding, intending there for to entrap them, as was euident by a letter which ſhe cauſed the Cardinall of Sens to wryte vnto the Pope, in the which ſhe deſireth his holynes not to tak it in euil part that ſhe had vpon ſuch conditions concluded peace with the Proteſtantes, for that was but a policie to bring thingis to paſſe: for (ſaid ſhe) had their Capitanes cũmin to the Mariage, it had bene already diſpatched. Now let all men iudge what honour it had bene to our King, to deſire men to his Mariage, and there to haue murthered them, or what a pleaſure it wald haue bene to the Empreour to heir that his daughters mariage had bene conſecrated with ſo wicked, deteſtable and abhominable treaſon: But it ſo fell out, that as yet moſt of the people was not quyeted, whereupon the Proteſtantis had lawful excuſes to abſent thẽ ſelues from the Court, which place aboue all vther they ſpecially ſuſpected: Theſe their allegatiõs moued hir to ſeik al meanes poſſible to quiet

Quene Mothers Meſſage to the Pope.

the

the whole countrie, fayning ȳ she wald most se-
ueirly punish such seditious persons, as vnder a
secreit hope that all these deuises tended only to
the assurance of the Protestantis beleif, tuke very
bouldly vpon thē. Thus she missed of them at this
time, but mark the sequele.

After all these matters aforesaid, the Quene knowing by hir former dealinges, that these hir practises wer already suspected, & that now she had atteined vnto the reputation with hir Vncle Clement the 7. namely that promysing any thing whatsoeuer, yea in ful intēt to performe ȳ same, she was now neuertheles nothing credited, she thought it not amis the King suld play his part (whose wordes & speich she framed & forced to agre with hirs) becaus that in his so tender zouth his wordis suld be much les suspected of fayning & dissimulations. She therefore procured him to propone two thingis which semed most fit to abuse the Protestātis, & the same which specially they now desired and wished for. The first was, warre against the King of Spain for the recouery of the low countries. The vther was, the mariage of my Lady Margaret his Sister, hir daughter vnto the King of Nauarre.

Quene Mother causeth the King to motion sindrye deuises vntothe protestantes.

These hir two principall pointes she so ernestly pursued, that finally bringing thē to passe, she atteined hir lōg desired purpose. In the meane time the Prince of Orenge, who was the generall of those who wer risen in the low countries against the inquisition and gouernment of Spaniardes was gone to his owen hous in Germany whereas he was earnestly sollicited to agre with the King of Spaine, vpon sumwhat reasonable conditions,

The Ptince of Orēge solicited to agre with the King of Spaine.

which

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The Empreour motioneth a peace betwene the King of Spaine and the Prince of Orenge which the King of France maketh voyde.

which the Empreour the only motioner of this agrement, had proponed and promyſed to caus to be inuiolably obſerued, whereby he was in a maner reſolued to accept them, which when the King vnderſtude, he cauſed to wryte a letter vnto the County Lodouik de Naſſaw, the Prince of Orenges brother, who then ſoiorned at Rochel, wherein he put him in hope of ſuccour againſt the ſaid King of Spaine, and therefore deſired him to cum to his preſence, whereas they might more particularly cõmon of his Maieſties whole intent: hereupõ the ſaid County repared ſecreitly toward Blandis in Brye where the Court then lay, from whence the King very ſclenderly accõpanyed went to meit him at Lumiguie, & from thence departed to Fountaine Beleaw, whither alſo the Coũty Lodouick ſecreitly followed him, wheras he cõmuned with the King aforeſaid, the ſpace of thre or four dayes, who maid vnto him ſo large and fair offers, that at his returne he counſayled his brother the prince of Orendge aforeſaid, no lenger to harken vnto the treaty late begun with the King of Spaine, ſeing that now the french King Miniſtred ſo good occaſions of warre againſt him. Returning alſo to Rochell he perſwaded the Admirall that the King was eirneſtly bent toward this warre, ſo far as a man might preſume, conſidering all vantages which wer to be eſpied: alſo that the Quene mother was highly offended at the death of hir deir daughter who was poyſoned in Spaine: Agane ỹ the King miſlyked of ſuche braueries as the Spaniardis had practiſed againſt him in Florida, neither was well content that they ſought to ſet fute within

his

his preeminences, with such lyke stuf: by these wordis it began to sincke into the Admirals hart, that the King coueted warre against the Spaniardis, and so consequently wyshed for a generall peace throughout his whole Kingdome, according vnto a common rule which before he had alwayis obserued, Namely that to continew our peace it is necessary to keip the men of warre occupied in forein contreis against strangers.

The Admiral is perswaded that the king of frãce determined warre againe the Spaniardes.

About the same tyme, they sent forth the Cardinall of Chastilliõ the Admirals brother to motion another Mariage for the Duke of Aniow, howbeit in his returne homeward, he was poysoned by one Guilliu his Chamberlain, who not long before had promised the Quene so to do. This Guillin wrought so artificially, that vntill such tyme, as after sainct Bartlemewes lamẽtable murder, he was takin as a spy at Rochell, and for that caus brought vnto execution, wheras he confessed the said deid, affirming euin at the hour of death, that he was far worse then a spy, for he had (said he) at the procuremẽt of certain the Quenes officers who promysed vnto him most ample rewardis, poysoned his late mayster the Cardinall aforesaid, it was neuer knowin who was the worker thereof. After this maner did she reward the Cardinall for all his paines, vnto whome afore tyme she had shewed greatest tokens of amitie, and that not without caus: For by his helpe she recouered of a sickneſſe at Chaalons, whereas all the Phisitions had giuen hir ouer, & besydes that he had bene hir cheifest stay, at the same time that for hir barrennesse she shuld haue bene sent home againe vnto Florence: This treaty of mariage, se-

An Mariage motioned for the duke of Aniow.

The Cardinal of Chastillion poysoned.

med in part to tend to the better obſeruing of the peace.

The King ſone after called the Admirall to the Court vnder coulor of the flemyſh warre, vpon which hope he accordingly gaue his attendance with forty horſes only: At that tyme they held a counſall to haue diſpatched him, & for the ſame purpoſe, fortefied the Kings gard with foure hondred harquebuziers, whill the King lay at Bloyſe, howbeit fynally they determined to attend for better oportunity to haue entrapped them both at once, and ſo this practiſe went quite backward.

A counſal to haue murthered the Admirall.

The King ſheweth him a thouſand fauoures: The Quene more then euer ſhe had done: alſo to let him vnderſtand that they pay him not with wordis only, they commit vnto him the whole charge and conduct of the wars in the low contryes: Thus do they permit him to returne fully ſatiſfied into his own houſe.

The Mariage of the Lady Margaret vnto the King of Nauarre, which was the other hope of the proteſtants, went forward in the ſame ſeaſon: The King and the Quene ſemed very deſyrous thairof, boſting that now thay intended to mary the Catholickes vnto the Proteſtantis: yea, and to remoue all doutes thay eaſily did condiſcend to the Proteſtantis ſo far, as to permit the Mariage of the ſaid King of Nauarre, to be vtherwiſe ſolempniſed than the Catholicke and Romiſhe Church did allow: thair was now thairfore no more to do, but to attend the cumming of the Quene of Nauarre for paſſing of the accord and of the King, hir Sone for performing the Mariage: The Quene of Nauarre, after a few dayis being

The Mariage of the King of Nauarre propo ned and accorded.

being cum, the treaty of this Mariage was sone concluded. Not long before hir arriuall thair came to the Court the Cardinall Alexandryne, the late Popes Neuew, who heiring of hir aproch hasted him self the more in full hope to haue dissolued all matters aswell of the Mariage, as of the Flemishe warres, yea, and to haue renewed the Kingis warre against the Protestantis, as in deid that was the only effect of his Message: wherfore the better to abuse their simplicitie, openly the King and the Quene semed to make but small account either of his person or propositiõs, howbeit secreitly they certified him that al these practises tended only to the ruine of the Protestãts.

Cardinal Alexãdrins arriuall at the Court, and the causes thereof.

The King notwithstanding all these thinges, entered very far into matters with the County Lodouick who came with the Quene of Nauar: wherein also the said County was nothing behinde: for he discloſed vnto both the King and the Quene, what intelligences and interprises he had, aswell in Flanders as in Henaulte in most of their good townes: the King therefore promiseth to him ayde of als many futemen and horsmen as him self sall think sufficient: he also sendeth for the most valiant gentilmen Protestantis to the end to assigne vnto euery one what interprise he sall vndertak, and after what maner he sall put it in executiõ, by such meanes as the County sall appoint him: he sendeth furth Minguitier in a Ship of warres, rigged after the maner of a Marchant, for to espy the landing of Perow: he concludeth league with the Quene of England who at that tyme, was not all the best content with the King of Spaine, promysing among vther

The Kinges conference with Coũty Lodouick.

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An league with the Quene of England.

thingis to ayde hir throughout his dominions in caſe the King of Spaine wald not zeild vnto hir all ſuch hir ſubiectis with their goodes as he did detaine: He proponeth another treaty with the Proteſtant Princes in Germany: he being ſollicited by Luke of Floréce by the meanes of Fregoſe, to lend money wherewith to diſcharge the wars which he might ſtand in dout of, for the Duchy of Sien: aſſembleth his army on the ſea at Brouage wherewith to aſſaile the low countries: Moreouer he ſendeth an honorable Ambaſſage to the great Turcke purpoſely to exhort him to land in Sicily: It was alſo noyſed in the low coũtries that the King of France fauoured the Prince of Orenge againſt the King of Spaine, whereupõ it chaunced that when the County de la March the Prince of Orenges kinſman had takin the Towne of Briell in Holland, through diſpair, the whole coũtries of Holland and Zealand in hope of the King of France his ſuccour, who armed his nauy at Brouage, did reuolt. Theſe affairis being thus all at once broched and begun, the County Lodouicke acompanyed with diuers French gentlemen, aduowed by the Kingis Letters, Namely Genlis and None hauing ſent the ould Capitane Poyet by the break of day to ſeaſe vpõ one of the gates of Montes, vnder colour of paſſing toward the Duke of Alba, ſhewing the Kingis paſport tending to the ſame end he ſurpriſed the ſaid towne of Monts, ane other of his gentlemen alſo accompanyed with diuers frenchmẽ, did on the ſodeine tak Valenciennes, but the Caſtle did ſone recouer that Towne againe, theſe two being the cheif Townes and fortereſſes of all Henault.

An league with the germaine Princes.

Embaſſage to the great Turcke.

Montes ſurpriſed.

Valenciens ſurpriſed.

Vpon

Vpon theſe demeanures, the King findeth occaſion againe to call the Admirall to the Court, to the end to haue his aduice in this warre, whereas preſently vpon his cumming, he granteth him one Theſaurer, whome he commandeth to delyuer to the ſaid Admirall whatſoeuer money he ſal neid for the conducting of this war, wherin the Duke of Alencon ſuld be generall. Genlis returneth from Monts, he commoneth with the King, and obteineth his Maieſties letters vnto ſindry gentilmen, wherein thay ar commanded to bring him ſuccour: but he was ouerthrowen in the way, and the Kingis letters being found, were caryed to the Duke of Alba. About the ſame tyme the Prince of Orenge returneth out of Germany with a ſtrõg power of Reiſters, part of whoſe Capitaines wer penſioners of France, & liued of the Kingis pay: He entered into Brabãt: he tuke diuers good Townes: He was receaued into Louayne, one of their cheif Townes, & into Malines where all the munitiõ of the whole countrie remained. To be breif, in ſhort ſpace he reduced all the King of Spaine his Eſtait in the low countries, vnto ſuch a hazard, as thay wer ready to ioyne with him and to take his part: All theſe things proceded, as you may ſe, of our Quenes only drifts, and thairfore I leaue vnto all wiſe mens iudgementis, to gadder what kynde of thankis the King of Spaine may cun vs, or whither he will omit the firſt occaſion of reuenge, that he can ſpy out.

The Kinge granteth to the Admiral an Theſaurer.

The Prince of Orége returneth out of Germany

During all theſe matters, the Celebration of the Mariage depended and ſtayed only vpon the King of Nauarre: but whileſt all men hoped to

trudge into the low Countries, the Quene contrariwise prepared to entrappe the Proteſtantis, althought ſhe thought it yet neceſſarie to waite one day longer before the ſtroke. She did moſt extremely hate the Quene of Nauarre, whome of long tyme ſhe knew to be of great wiſedome and valyant courage, wherfore ſhe feared, that in cace the ſaid Quene ſuld liue after the murther of the reſt, ſhe might yet once watche hir a diſpleaſure, If in the murder already deuiſed, ſhe ſuld procure hir death, vnder cullour of the auncient quarrell of the hous of Guiſe, againſt the familie of Chaſtillion, therein culd ſhe find no ſufficient occaſion (for how ſuld ſhe refer this fault vnto the Lordes of Guiſe, who neuer had any caus of quarrel againſt hir.) Againe ſhe doubted, that ſo long as the ſaid Quene liued, ſhe ſuld haue no auctority ouer the young King of Nauarre: yea, ſhe fered alſo leſt in that the ſaid Quene was of good forecaſt and miſtruſtfull, ſhe might peraduẽture ſmel out all theſe driftes, and ſo make fruſtrate all hir ententes. Finding therefore no vther meanes, ſhe had recourſe vnto hir hyred and vſuall poyſoner Maiſter Rene, who by ſelling his perfumes and perfumed doblets vnto the ſaid Quene, found meanes ſo to Infect hir, that ſone after ſhe deit, whereof he hath ſince bene ſo bould, as to make his awant. and therein hath ſo farre proceded, as to boaſt that yet he had ſtuffe aneugh for thre or foure more, who nothing miſtruſted him. An vther difficulty that yet remained, and that was, that the Pope was very ſlack in admitting and granting a diſpenſation to marry, contrary to the auncient rites of the Church, neyther durſt the

The Quene of Nauarre poyſoned.

Cardinall

Cardinall of Burbon condiſcend to marry them, without the ſaid diſpenſation, for feare of being excommunicated: herein marcke hir conſcience.

The Quene fayned to haue receaued Lettets from the Cardinall of Lorreyne, that the ſaid diſpenſation was granted, but not yet diſpatched, and that therfore they neided no longer tyme to differ the mariage, but if it pleſed thē, they might at thair owen wils celebrate the ſame: Theſe fals and forged letters did ſhe ſhaw vnto the cardinall of Burbon, who vpō the ſight of the ſame, was content to marry them after the maner agreid vpon, with the Proteſtantis, and ſo was it ſolemnized the ſeuententh of Auguſt.

Quene Mother counterfateth letters frō the Cardinal of Lorreyne.

The next Friday after, the Admirall was with a harquebuze wounded, by the ſame Maureuet, who ſlew Monſieur de Mouy, his Capitaine, as is foreſaid. The King, the Quene, the Monſieuris hir children, came to viſit him: She more then any vther, ſemed to be diſpleaſed at his hurt crying out lowder then the reſt, againſt the auctors thereof: and yet the next night betwene Saterday and Sonday, ſhe cauſeth him to be killed outright, and not him only, but ſo many more of the Proteſtantis, as culd be found, who before had bene inrolled, to the end, that not one of them might eſcape. The firſt in this nomber inrolled, wer the four brethren, the Mommorencies, although Catholickes, which wer ſaued by the only abſence of the Duke of Mommorencie, the eldeſt of the brethren, and cheif of that race, who vpon the Thurſday before was gone on hunting: The Marſhall de Coſſe, ſupplyed the nynth Rowme.

The Admirall woūded.

The Admirall ſlaine.

Who ſhuld haue bene murdered & by what mnis they di eſcape.

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After followed Monſieur de Biron, with many more. To be breif, the Lowre gates wer ſhute, leſt any ſuld eſcape: But Seignior Claude Marcell meting with Monſieur de Thore, one of Mõmorencies brethren, warned him with all ſpeid, to ſhift for him ſelf, if he loued his owen lyfe, becaus that day was vnfortunate for his progenie: As for the Marſhall de Coſſe, had not the prayers of Madam de Chaſteau Neuf (who beſtowed hir credite vpon the Duke of Aniow, ſince King of Pole, and now of France) bene of great efficacie, he had paſſed the ſame way with the reſt, as alſo Mõſieur de Biron, who ſaued him ſelf in the Arſenall: The King of Nauarre eſcaped at the hũble ſũte of his new wyfe, the Kingis ſiſter: the Prince of Conde, by the help of his brether in law, the Duke of Neuers, who alledged that as yet he was young and tender, and eaſily might be brought into the right way, and reduced to thair Religion. Theſe men did God who wald not in one day ſubuert our whole kingdõe, exempt out of this horrible murther.

The Admirals body, after that the heid being cut of, was preſẽted to the Quene, did thay train to Montfaucon Gallous, whither ſone after in an Euening hir ſelf went to behald him, taking with hir, hir Sones, hir daughter, and hir Sone in law: what a bewtifull ſpectakle this was, for ſo Noble Princes to behald, I pray you conſider: For my part, I can not conceaue to what intent ſhe did it, vnles it wer to imboulden them in all kynd of bludy cruelty, and ſo to fraime them to hir owẽ nature, which is ſuch, that no kynd of tyrannous ſight, can ſo far quaile hir cruell kynd, as therein to deminiſh

Quene Moher leadeth ir Children behoulde he Admiils Carcaſe vpõ what ccaſion.

to deminiſh hir pleaſure and delight, or to caus hir to abſent hir ſelf, from the preſence of the ſame.

Many valiant gentlemen, whoſe want againſt ſtrangers, I feare, we all ſall herafter bewayle, wer in this rage ſlayne, yea many earneſt Catholickes, as among others Monſieur de Villemaur, one of the maſters of the Requeſtes, and ſonne to the Lord keiper of the Seales Bertrandi, afterward Cardinall of Sens, alſo Monſieur Rutillart, a coũ ſellar Clark of the Court of Parliamẽt, & Chanõ of our Lady Kirk, who both wer well knowẽ for earneſt Catholickes, althogh enemies to all crueltie, vniuſtice and ſedition. Catholickes Murthered.

The Raſcalls of the Cietie, moued partly by the example of thoſe, who cryed that the Proteſtantis wald haue murthered the King and his brethren, partly alſo by hope of the ſpoyle, murthered all thoſe whome they met, without regard either of nature, age, qualitie, vocation, or Religion. Quene Mother cõmanded the murder in all parts.

The Quene commanded all gouernors, within thair precinctes, to do the like, which precept, in moſt Cieties of the Realme was with extreme cruelty executed, notwithſtanding, the very hãgmen in ſum places, did chuſe rather to loſe thair offices, then to practiſe ſuch murders vpon innocent people by Iuſtice and Law, vncondempned: He who culd commit moſt ſlaughter was greatlyeſt rewarded: Sum thay ſtrangled in the priſons: for thair ſaikis which had begged thair cõfiſcations: for the Marſhall de Retz, cauſed to murther within the priſon called Chaſtelet, one of the Kingis Secretaries, to the end him ſelfe might

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might enioy his landis & poſſeſſions. The whole diſcours heirof wald be tedious, if a man ſuld particularly deſcriue the ſame: It is ſufficiently knowen vnto all men, and my ſelf do trimble at the remembrance thairof. In this place to argue whither thay had conſpired againſt the King or not, it wer ſuperfluous. All likelyhoodes do ſay nay: preparation thair was none to be perceaued: No man defended him ſelf: The conſaylours of this pretence, do reporte it to be an excellent motion: If it had bene trew, why was not their caſe hard and their proceſſe decyded? Wherefore wer they not lawfully and by Iuſtice executed? Was it vnpoſſible to haue apprehended thoſe perſons, whome they ſlew in their beddes? Was not the Admirall from the tyme that he was hurt ſtill in the cuſtodie of the Kingis garde, which was aſſigned for his defence againſt the ſeditious perſons? Were thair ſo many proteſtantis that the Kingis garde culd beir no ſway? Was thair no people in Paris? either wer thair no men of warre? By orderly procedingis, the Kings reputation had neuer bene called in queſtion among foreyne Nations, but rather all Princes wald haue ayded to the chaſtiſing of the conſpiratours: Nay theſe ar only the deuiſes of ſum Tyrannous Maximine, whereby to rute out all the mighty men from among the Romaine people.

The firſt letters concerning the murther.

The Quene is conuict by hir owen letters, & by thoſe letters which ſhe cauſed the King hir Sonne to direct vnto the Lieutennentis and Gouernoures of Prouinces, and vther officers of this kingdome, beſydes thoſe which were written to

his Embaſſadoures, according to the tennour whereof thay were, to mak report vnto his Neighbouris and Princes adioyning, in the which ſhe ſaith expreſly, that ſhe greatly lamented this chance, happenned to the Admirall, and his partakers, againſt the willis both of the King and of hir ſelf, alſo, that the Duke and Lordis of Guiſe in reuenge of certaine thair ancient and priuate grudges, had forced the Garde which the King for his ſaifty had geuin vnto him, wherein thay had bene ayded by the Pariſianes, whereby the King was not able to remeid it, or to reſtraine thair rage: Of the treuth of the contentis of theſe letters, I reporte me to all that then were Embaſſadoures. Them ſelues ſall confeſſe, whither thay wer aſhamed when as, ſone after that thay had certified thoſe Princes, where thay wer reſident, that all theſe thingis wer done by the Lordes of Guiſe, for credite whereof, thay had alſo ſhewed the Kingis letters, now ſodenly thay wer recharged to giue furth to vnderſtand, that the King him ſelf was the Author heirof, in puniſhement of a certaine conſpiracie, detected againſt thair Maieſties: Hardly knew thay at which end to begin to frame thair Recantations of thair wordis afore ſpokin: Let vs thairfore, I pray you, with ſum deliberation, examine this dealing: Let vs as it wer, penetrate into the pernitious counſallis of this woman, and marcke whereunto this ruting out, either of the Proteſtantis only, either of all the mighty men of this kingdome, without reſpect of Religioun, do tend.

Quene Mothers ſecũd letters.

Theſe deallingis bette examined.

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The Admirall being inuited to the Court, vnto

the

the Mariage of a Kingis ſiſter, after a thouſand othes, & a thouſand imbraſingis, is finally murthered, and not he only, but all the moſt notable Proteſtantis, which had accompanyed the King of Nauarre. I might heir alledge the Kingis faith which ought to haue bene regarded: Alſo the Mariage of a Kingis ſiſter, which ſuld not be imployed vpon ſo traiterous and villanous practiſes Well, admit that all theſe conſiderations were naught to be regarded, and that it wer ſumthing tollerable in the perſon of an Admirall, who had bene generall leader of all the Proteſtantis armyes, and by that meanes had highly moued the Kingis diſpleaſure againſt him ſelf: But I pray you, for his cauſe ought they ſo cruelly to haue proſecuted thair rage againſt all the proteſtantis Nobilitie, who for the moſt part, notwithſtāding thair difference in Religion, wer ſo earneſtly bēt to the Kingis ſeruice, that thay offered their owē perſons, and at their owen charges to hane, for his caus warred againſt the King of Spaine: was it neceſſary they muſt be ſlaine, and that in the Chalmer of the new maryed Bryde? Peraduenture ſum will alledge that thay wer gentilmen & bare ſum countenance among the Proteſtantis, yea thay wer (as we terme them) Capitaines, mē who wer ſufficient to haue againe raiſed vp, and renewed the warre whiche we went about to quenche. Wel let this reaſon ſerue: But for their ſakes might they lawfully murther and ſlay ſuch number of pure people at Paris? Ought thay to haue commanded all gouernours to execute the lyke crueltie in vther Cieties? Muſt thay neidis kil Artificers, pure men, old men, wemen, Children,

dren, generally, all perſons vnable to beare Armour, who wer moued only in reſpect of their ſaluation to imitate an vther Religion? Perhaps you will ſay thay wer Proteſtantis and confirmed in thair opinions, and thairfore ſeing it wald be no better, we muſt neidis rute out all the whole race. Aſſuredly I can not ſo rawly paſſe ouer this point: for thair was ſum hope of winning them vtherwiſe, alſo I can no where finde that euer any trew chriſtiane Prince vſed the lyk doingis vnto either Iewes, Turckes, or Saraſens, neither did euer verteous Catholick in our coũtrie allow of this ſo cruell dealing, but rather ſaued ſo many as poſſibly thay might: yet notwithſtanding for this preſent, I will be content to admit this ſo vnreaſonable an excuſe in part of payment: But I pray you, ſuld thairfore the Lordes of Mommorency, the Marſhall de Coſſe thair allye, the principall officers of this Crowne, Monſieur de Biron, and vthers be reduced into the Roll of thoſe who ſuld haue bene murthered? I beſeich you what had thay done? or wherof do you accuſe them to be culpable? how deſerued thay to be ſo vniuſtly intreated? wer thay proteſtantis, nay, wer thay not alwayes earneſt Catholickes? were thair euer any Lordes in France who haue more valiantly fought againſt the Proteſtantis then thay? I neid not rehearſe vnto you the taking and woundiug of thair Father the Cõſtable, at the battaile of Dreux, where he alſo loſt one of his Children, neither how at four ſcoir zeiris of age, he receaued his deathis wound at S. Dioniſe: I know very well that the good ſeruice of the Father doeth neuer excuſe the miſdemea-

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nuts of the Sonne, but was thair euer any battell fought againſt the Proteſtantis, wherin ſũ of this famely, whome now they wald murder & mak away, wer not preſent? Haue thay not in all conflictis borne cheif ſway? and haue thay not at all tymes moſt honorably diſcharged thair fũctiõs? Alſo whither thay haue not at all tymes farther haſarded them ſelues, then by dewty thay were bound, let all the Capitaines of this Realme teſtifie, let the whole Armies ſpeik thair myndes, yea let the Proteſtantis them ſelues ſhew, whoſe blowes haue bene to them moſt heauy: By thair anſwers you may be reſolued. As for the Marſhall de Coſſe, who yet beareth the markes of ſo many woundes, moſt honourably receaued in all the lait warres, againſt both the enemies of the Crowne, and the Proteſtantis (omitting heir the valiant ſeruices of his brother, the Marſhall Briſſac: and of his Nenewe the County of Briſſac, who both died againſt the Proteſtantis) can any man defraude him of the honour of the thride warre: or dare any perſon deny him, to haue bene the procurer of moſt part of our good ſucceſſes againſt the Proteſtantis? Who gaue the cheif counſall in the battall of Moncontour, whereas ten thouſand Proteſtantis loſt thair liues? Who beareth the cheif Name of ſo Many valiant victories in the laſt warres? Vnto Monſieur de Biron what may (I beſech you) be imputed, who hath often ventured his lyfe in theſe late Ciuill conflictis, wherein he hath ſo faithfully and proſperouſly conducted the Catholickes Artillerie: Surely you can ſay nothing againſt him, for he is a Catholicke, and to his power hath warred againſt

red againſt the Proteſtantis: But heir is the matter.

The hous of Mommorency is of neirer kynred vnto the Admirall, and very freindly to his famely, and the Marſhall de Coſſe is allyed vnto them: well in caſe it be ſo, or admit the Admirall had conſpired: And thairfoir all his Catholicke kynred be ſlaine: Is it to be granted that thairfore we muſt tak againſt all thoſe that be allyed vnto his famely, or againſt ſuch as be freindis to thoſe that be allyed with him? hath not the king him ſelf ſhewed him a thouſand tokens of amitie very laitly before his deith, yea and called him Father? Is it thairfore forbiddē to all them who naturally ar bound to ſhew him freindſhip, for to fauour him? If this be an offence, I pray you what hous in France is exempt of cryme? What gentilman or vther ſal eſcape the Haulter, in caſe it be a capitall delict, puniſhable, not only by Iuſtice, but alſo without all order of Law, for to be freind, allye, or kinſman to the Admirall, his freindis, allyes, or kinſmen? Where is the Law which euen among barbarous nations putteth to death not the freindis only, but alſo the very Children of any perſon gyltie of treaſon, vnles them ſelues be found partakers in the ſame? That then belyke, is not the caus: but we muſt finde an vther.

Faine wald we rute out the cheif of the Nobilitie: All ſuch as by byrth be mighty: yea, thoſe who either by thair owen, either by thair anceſtors ſeruice, haue atteyned to any honorable degree: ſuch as lawfully might withſtand our wicked practiſes: & all them which by reaſon of their

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naturall goodnes, can not be partakers in our di-
loyatie and treasons. This is our Quenes drift,
this is the mark which she shuteth at, for the at-
teyning whereunto, she must finde sum begin-
ning. In the warres she hath procured the deiths
of the neireſt of the blood Royall, with the cheif
of the famelyes of Mommorency and Guise, the
one being great Maister, the vther Constable of
France. Now seiketh she to extinguishe the
whole Name of the Mommorencyes and Chas-
tillions, and yet will protest in all countries, that
the Lordes of Guise haue done it in reuenge of
thair priuate quarrels: Thus may yowse the
very bottome of hir malice. At the execution of
the murther of Paris, she vsurped the Names of
the Lordes of Guise, as of those who through
a priuate displeasure, did in reuenge, affect the
Admirals death, Notwithstanding that therein
they so behaued them selues, that many Prote-
tantes at this day lyuing, do acknowledge their
liues only of their liberalitie: And seing that in
this deid, she hath to hir power, brought them in-
to hatred among all men, she now seketh to mak
them auctors of all mishief, and to excuse hir self
at their costes, whereby to banishe them from the
Court, not for a countenance, but to the end in
deid so sone as they be departed, so to fasten the
gate after them, that they sall neuer get in againe:
yea, and peraduenture after thir processe be maid
yet once againe to trouble the whole common
welth, and so to force the Kingis gard to be Mi-
nisters of hir reuenges: This is such a practise as
she hath perfitly learned of hir Machiauellistes:
For by this meanes she hopeth that the famely of

Mommo-

Mommorency which ar escaped hir clawes be so nere of kin vnto the hous of Chastillion, and wer so great freindes to the late Admirall, that vnder standing that the King will not hinder them, or deale in the matter; they will not fayle to assembill togeather their freindes, to the end to reuendge his death, for assuredly it semed they wer greatly moued at his wound: heir may you se thē past all hope of reconcilment, heir haue they begun a quarrell sufficient for their liues tyme, and that which is more, on what side so euer the losse turneth, or who so be slaine, she sall still thereby reap profit and pastime: Thus approcheth she nearer to the mark wherat she doth shute: But almightie God who will not permit hir to obtein hir purpose but semeth to haue reserued those two famelies to revnit them selues togeather till tyme and opportunitie conuenient, for the confusion of this accursed woman, the conseruation of them selues, & the reestablishing of this kingdome: did so open the eyes of the Lords of guise, that thay wald not depart the Court, before that the King in open Parliament had, to thair discharge, aduowed and published all those Murthers to haue bene committed by his owen expresse commandement; yea and afterward meting the Duke of Mommorency, declared to him particularly that not thay, but the Quene had procured Maureuet to shute at the Admirall. Also that the Coūty de Retz was the party, who both did him self speak, and caused vthers to moue the said Maureuet thereunto, also that notwithstanding they wer glaid of his death, as of one of their enemies, yet wald they not that he suld after that

maner haue bene dispatched, had thay not had expresse commandement from his Maiestie: heir may you se how this woman surmounteth euen hir self in all kynde of mischeifis.

We all do know thair was no conspiracy: we all haue sene it so subscriued vnto by the King & Quenes owen handis: The Lordis of Guise are warre, and will not permit hir to satisfie Princes at thair costes: To mak therefore the warld beleue that thair was sumwhat, the Quene caused iudgement to be giuen against Bricquemault, an ancient gentilman of thre scoir and ten zeiris of age, who had spent all his tyme in the warres of the late Kingis with good reputacion, and against Cauagnes a counseler of the court of Parliament of Tholouse, who both wer apprehended in the heate of the great murther.

Briekquemault & Cauagnes apprehended & executed.

First she promiseth them life, in cace of their owen accordes they wil confesse the crime, which they refused, she preferreth to them the rack: and yet notable to wring any thing out of them for hir purpose, she choseth iudges to condemne thō whose consciences forced them to confesse that they found no caus why to put them to death: wherevpon she seketh vther iudges after hir own mynde, who to the end both to satisfie hir appetite, and also to set some color vpō thair processe, wherby to discharge them selues toward the posteritie found out a slanderous sleyt wherefore to put them to death, namely, for bryberie & theste of the Kinges coyne, wherewithall they neuertheles neuer had to do: howbeit thair innocency culd not preserue them from being as Conspirators executed, notwithstanding they culd find no euidence,

euidence, either by thair owne confessions, or by the despositions of any vther. To be brief, they both did constantly professe, euen to the death, whereat the King, the Quene his Mother, the Monsieuris his brethren, and the king of Nauarre were presẽt; that thay neuer had heard of any such matter and therefore did appeale from hir false sentence vnto the iust iudgment of God. I knowe this processe will seme strange vnto you: But more strãge wil you finde that by the which diuers catholicks wer lately executed. You haue alredy heard how she prouoked the Prince of Orendge and the County Lodowick to mak warre against the King of Spayne procuring them to tak sundry Towns, also how she sent sundry Frenchmen vnto Monts by the Kings precept & aduow signed with his maiesties owen hand. Now that she hath atteyned to the end of hir interprise, she forsaketh the County Lodowick, whereupon he was forced to yeld the towne of Monts aforesaid, which by hir meanes he had surprised, and so to commit him self into his enimies hands, among whome he found more fidelity, then with hir he suld haue done: For about the same tyme also she wrait vnto the Lord of Monslo a germayn, whom before she had appoynted to serue the Prince of Orenge with a Regimẽt of horsmen, willing him to murther the said Prince, and then to reteir into what part of France so euer him self suld think best: howbeit he wald not heirin satisfie hir desire, but persauing that in case he serued there any longer, he suld lose the Kingis pay, hauing first aduertised the Prince of Orẽge of this goodly commission, he withdrew him self into Ger-

many, wherby the Princes army was greatly shaken and him self in manifest danger: The lyke practise had she before moued vnto Schombergo an vther Germaine who also suld haue repaired vnto the said prince, with 4000. Reisters at the Kingis pay, willing him to haue executed ỹ same spedily after the great murther committed Is not this therefore plaine deceipt and treason, cõspired in all places without feir of infamy? So how now she hath, by meanes heirof gotten two enemies for one, also that notwithstanding the one of them semeth neuer so small, yet a state, how strong so euer it be, suld auoyd all waik enemies, much more then ought ours so to do, being thus dilacerated and torne in peaces as it is. Also as if the iniuries done vnto the King of Spaine, whome by surprises she had assailed, euen against the peace, during the tyme of his warres against the Turcke, wer easie to be recompenced, she dispatched certaine Regimentis of souldiers vnto the passages, to slay those men, who according to the forme of composition, came back frõ Monts, whither the King had sent them for his seruice. But heir by the way, I wald faine knowe if this warre wer iust, why was it not continewed? why did thay not persew such likelyhoodes as there wer, at the least wise, in case thay will no longer prosecute the same, yet vpon what occasion do thay slay those, who at the Kingis expres commandement went thither? Is it treason to obey the King, to go in his seruice, so to venture lyfe at his commandement? In case the war be vniust, or that thair be no sufficient caus to dissolue the peace, wherefore haue thay then infringed the same? Vpon what occasion haue thay sent

Queene Mother sendeth to slay those who had bene at Monts.

thither? Is it the dewtie of the ſouldiers or of the Capitaines, nay of the Capitaines or of the price to examine whether his warre be lawfull or no? Is it ſo ſmall a mater to mak the King of Spaine our enemie? Haue we not ſufficiently tryed his forces? Is our ſtrēgth ſo mightely increaſed within theſe doſen zeiris whileſt we haue one murthered an vther? or is his power ſo gteatly decayed through any notable loſſe which he hath ſuſteyned? I pray you where be now the mē which ſuld withſtād him? the money wherewith to pay them? or the allyances whereupon we muſt depend? But we force not at whoſe coiſt we be reuenged: we wey not whome we do offend, ſo that we may ſlay all thoſe whoſe deathis we do deſire. If the King of Spaine ſuld inuaid our dominiōs, euin to morow nixt, being ſo deſolate and deſtitute of men as it is, we wald not care: for as much vnto vs is the Spanyard as the Frenchman: Did we not once forecaſt, in caſe our Children ſuld die, how to tranſlate contrary to the Salick law, the kingdome of Frāce vnto the King of Spaine? If we might rute out the Nobilitie, & ſatiſfie our owē appetites, it wer aneugh, whatſoeuer might afterward happen. The King of Spaine is our Sonne in Law, yet will we mak no great accompt of our faith toward him, no more then towarde vthers, for which caus, he will no dout in tyme to cum well recompence our kingdome, & God grant that theſe great preparations which preſently he maketh, tend not to ſeik reuenge. The Quene of England is our good Neighbour, ſiſter & allye, yet haue we interpriſed during the league by motioning a marriage vnto hir, to trouble, mo-

Quene Mather cōtinueth amitie with no nation.

left, and consume hir whole estate and Kingdo.
We speake of allyancis with the Princes of Germany, but now do they account vs Schelmes, vnworthy of all communication or fellowship among men. The Zuitzers haue bene our auncient confederats, yet now by reason of our dastardlynes they are at the point, abandoning our seruice to ally them selues vnto the King of Spayne. All men which desire well to gouerne thair estates, do to thair powers strengthen the same with the amyty of thair borderers: Iudge ye therfore whither this accursed woman seketh ought but the destruction of ours, seing that dayly she offereth new occasions of enemity, hatred, and warre against vs. During these matters, it semeth to hir that the Protestantis partlie was quite ouerthrowen and dispatched, thair capitanis brought to ground, thair people half murthered and in maner all thair cieties taken. Only Rochell is left to them as a harborow which for feare of Murthers durst not receiue garison but standeth vpon hir auncient priuiledges, seing also that the King in the begining had written that the Lordis of Guise had procured the spoyle at Paris and maid no mentiō of the conspiracy, we must now therfore nedis go and besiedge it, but after what maner? I pray you mark still how she draweth neir to hir purpose. To this siedge she causeth all the French Nobility on both partes: hither causeth she all the Lordis of France to march, namely the Lordis of Guise, part of the house of Mommorency, the Dukes of Longueuille, Bouillon, and Vzes, with the rest of the princes of the blood, yea to the end that none might pretend any excuse,

The seige of Rochell.

ſhe brouht thither, euen my Lordis hirown chil-
dren: neither brought ſhe them ſimply vnto the
ſiege, to the end by thair preſence to aſtoniſh the
Rochelers, or to ſet a good face on the matter,
but alſo did dayly expoſe thē vnto all labours &
hazardes, in ſo much that euery man might ſone
perſaue how deſirous ſhe was of thair deathis, &
ſlaughters: as among vthers, the Lordis of Guiſe
may well ſay thair mindis, who do plainly know
what ſmall accoūt was maid of the death of ther
kinſmā the late duke de Aumale: other gentlemē
can likewiſe report, what lamentations ſhe maid
ouer ȳ deid carcaſes of their coequals there ſlayn,
as this. This man did not amiſſe in ſuffering him
ſelf to be ſlayne, for as well he did owe more thē
he was worth. Againe: That man made his will
before he came forth, ſuch as wer thair preſēt do
better know my meaning. Alſo it is not vnknowē
what coūſal was there holden, touching the cele-
bration of an vther S. Bartlemew wherein wer cō
prinſed, The King of Nauarre, the Prince of Cō-
de (who neuertheles had thair moſt valiātly beha
ued thē ſelues) the Dukes of Longueuil & Bouil
lon, the Marſhal de Coſſe, Mōſieur de Mera, Mō-
ſieur de Biron, the Lord Stozzi Colonel of the in-
fantery, with many vthers who wer neuer ſlak in
venturing thair liues in thair Princis affairis: and
all this was deuiſed by the counſall and aduiſe of
the Quene mother & hir County de Rhetz (who
in the meane tyme, found opportunitie at Ro-
ſhel to fauour him ſelf and thair reaſon was, be-
cauſe that ſo long as in France thair remained a-
ny noble mē, or mighty perſons fauoured by the
Nobilitie, the King ſuld neuer want cōtrowlers,

Talk conce
nīg the mu
ther of cer
taine Cathe
licke Lorde
at Rochell.

and therefore by one meanes or vther they muſt all be rooted out, and nót they only, but alſo all thoſe who do fauour or follow them: and yet ſay they, notwithſtanding all this, there ſalbe no wát of Nobilitie, in as much as thay may ſone finde out both Italiens and Frenchmen anew, whome in caſe thay wald giue vnto them all the poſſeſſions of the Realme, thay ſuld mightely bind vnto thair owen deuotions. This thair deuiſe haue often bene blowen into our Kingis eares, & I pray God that we ſe it not ſhortly put in execution. Well, finally after the loſſe of the flour of our Capitaines and ſouldiers, with diuers famous gentilmen, and after the burdening of the commons with new exactions toward the maintenance of this ſeige, yet muſt we againe grant thé peace, confirme thair priuiledges, and permit the exerciſe of thair Religion: Had it not bene to vs a more ready and ſhort way at the firſt to haue left them in quiét, ſeing they do vs no harme, rather then thus to haue procured the deathis of ſo many vertuous and valiant perſons? After the returne from this ſyedge, the Catholick Lordis & gentlemen were for the moſt part wery of theſe ciuill battails, vnto the which they were againſt their willis conſtrained to cum: The Proteſtantis wer ſo weakened and brought downe, that now they wiſhed only to liue with libertie of conſcience in ſum tollerable reſt: The pure people did begin to ſoone the charges of the wars, & to ſeik redres of the taxes and ſubſidies, ſpecially in Languedoc, Guyen, Doulphine and Prouence, Notwithſtanding that thoſe contryes wer not ſo vntollerably burdened, as diuers vthers wer: Gene-

rally

rally the whole Realme of France desyred that the estates might be holden whereby, to tak order for such thingis as to the whole Kingdome wer necessarie and requisite: But the Quene mother who only in a maner was of that opinion, did to hir power eschew the same, as an examinat of hir gouernment, which had reduced the Kingdome into manifest danger of destruction: But in as much as the refusall of them was very dangerous, for feare of prouoking the people, she maid them a promise, putting them in hope and appointed them a certaine day at Compiegne, notwithstanding that in the meane tyme she determined so to molest the whole Realme', that thair suld remaine none, which once durst agane call for the keaping of the same. And in case through the importunitie of the people she wer compelled to hald them, then was she fully resolued to call thether al the noble and mighty men, who might not refuse to cum, and vpon them to celebrat a new S. Bartlemew: hereof therefore to set a good countenaunce, she permitteth no particuler estatis in the prouinces to be houlden according vnto the which they might prepare and frame their buks against the generals, for she feareth least both Catholickis and protestantes considring thair dispositions wold agre vpō matters touching the common welth but doth send out sundrey gentlemen after the maner of a quest of inquiry to vnderstand of the complaintis of the commonlty and of the same to mak report vnto hir: In the meane tyme consider hir practises (me thincketh I do behold hir onckle Clement the seuenth promysing generall counsall, and yet still inter-

intermingling continuall and moſt bloody warres, betuix all Chriſtiane Princes, whereby to hinder and ſtop the ſame.

Interpriſe againſt Rochell which was to hinder the houlding of the Eſtates.

The Quene Mother commandeth the Lords of Puygalliard and Andereau to inuent ſum policie to ſurpriſe the Cietie of Rochell which with all expedition thay do go about, and to the ſame end hauing practiſed ſindry both ſouldiers and Burgeſſes of the ſame Towne, thay ſuld haue cauſed the gariſons of S. Iohn de Angety, Nion, and Angoleſme to haue at the nixt reuiew marched vnto la Fonds, a Village not farre of, and thence by break of the nixt day in the Cietie, by a gate which their practiſed freindis ſuld ſet open. About the ſame tyme alſo that this deuiſe ſuld haue bene put in execution, the late King & the Quene his Mother lay at Chantilly, ready to apprehend the Duke of Mommorency in his owen hous. Thay had alſo laid an vther traine to intrappe the Marſhall de Anuill, but he ſmelling out the ſame, put to death ſindry of the practiſers vnder pretence that thay interpriſed againſt Montpillier where he then ſoiorned. Thair wer commiſſions alſo directed through all France cõcerning the men of Armes, vnder cullour of the warres in Languedoc notwithſtãding the trewis was not yet expired.

The County de Rhetz alſo practiſed a leuying of men in Germany through the helpe of four thouſand Frankes which he had tranſported thither, part whereof came afterward to the handes of County Lodowik wherewith he did arreas wars againſt the King of Spaine in hope alſo to haue ſurpriſed Maſtricht and Antwerp both the

Towne

Towne and Caſtell. God thairfore pietying this our miſerable eſtate, ſtirred vp one gentilman of the ſame confideracie, who being preuy to al the generall murther already concluded vpon, and to the rooting out of the moſt auncient and Noble famelyes throughout the Realme, notwithſtanding he wes a Catholicke, yet did diſcouer part of theſe interpriſes vnto the Rochelers by two ſeuerall letters which he directed vnto them, vpon which warning thay tuke better head vnto them ſelues and apprehēded certaine of the ſame conſpiracie: Now thairfore I pray you, what doth our good Quene when ſhe vnderſtude this practiſe to be diſcouered: haue you not hard how before, ſhe cauſed to ſlay all the Proteſtantis at thair returne from Monts, whome hir ſelf & the King had ſet on worke? The lyke rewarde doth ſhe beſtowe vpon the Rochellers, wryting vnto the Gouernours of the Cietie, that neither the King, neither hir ſelf wer euer acceſſary to this cō federacie, and thairfore by Monſieur de S. Supplice, ſhe giueth them to vnderſtand that thay cā not do vnto hir any more acceptable ſeruice, thē with al extremitie to puniſh all thoſe which ſuld be foūd gyltie of this cryme, as infringers of the peace & perturbers of the cōmō quiet: Was not this (ſuppoſe you) a good recōpence for thair paines? Venture your liues at hir pleaſure, for in caſe you miſſe of your purpoſe, ſhe will hang you for your labors: All theſe mē in their examinatiōs affirmed & ſteidfaſtly cōfeſſed hir to be their ſetter on. And to ſay the treuth, preſētly vpō ỹ diſcouery of this, euē the nixt day ſhe begā an vther cauſing to wryt vnto one whoſe Father had bene

maior of Rochell,

which came not so sone to light: And althoght in both those practises she still missed of Rochell, yet wer they not interprised in vayn: For if ye remember, she feared the assembly of the estatis, but now the protestantis heating of these dealyingis, begã in Poictow to arme thẽselues for the preseruatiõ of thair liues, whose exãple sindry Normãs fearing the lyke danger to thẽ selues, did imitate.

Thus was the Realme once againe troubled, whereby she had, as she supposed, a lawfull occasion not to assemble the Estates. Vntill this tyme had she kept on a maske of Religion, dealing directly with none but Protestantis, notwithstanding that those, who more narowly sifted hir doings, espyed the hipocrisie which appeared through hir viserd. Now thairfore she persauing the cheifest and most Noble of the Protestantis almost extinguished, & that there remained but as it were a handfull of them: she taketh and ioyneth directly against the Catholickes them selues, but not all at once, for sum must serue as hangmen vnto the rest, and so the one may most cruelly execute the vther.

Quene Mother directly against the Catholickes.

The most earnest Catholickes in France had misliked of these dealinges, namely that in place of faithfully & vprightly mayntayning the peace so solemnly made and sworne vnto, during the continuance whereof they doubted not but that many of the Protestantis might by preachinges and exhortacions be reuoked to thair ancient religion, also that by a lawfull counsall and assembly of the estatis, the people might be reunyted againe into mutuall loue and freindshippe, now when had gottin recourse vnto cruell murtheris, disloyall

disloyall dealingis, and trayterous trecheries, by meanes wherof, both the contry and Nation wer becum odious vnto all the warld and to speake vprightly, during the most heates of the slaughters aforenamed, the cheifest catholickis did preserue so many of the protestantis, as possibly they might, vpon which occasion, she often said, that she had not supposed that the subiects had borne so small affection vnto the King, but that she had alwayis perswaded hir self that at his cõmandement they wald haue slayn all without exceptiõ, in so much that who so wold serch who wer the executioners, he sall finde (except a few which practised thair owen reuengis) none but rascalls, who in hope of spoyle, not regarding frõ whence it came, & a few blasphemers of God, cõtemners of all religion, who slew both Catholickis and Protestantis, one among an vther, either for ther goods, or els vpon sum malice and hatred, or proces which they had against them, to haue bene partakers in this slaughter.

Who were the executioners of the murthers at Paris.

Yea the Quene, who knew well anough that the most part of the mighty men of this Kingdõe did detest and abhor these hir so horrible mischifes, durst not open vnto thẽ hir driftis: But chose only the Duke of Neuers & the County de Rhets to be conductors of the same: both men assuredly worthy so high & valeant an exploite, both strangers and therefore not suspected of any affection to the contry: Italyens, who do tryumphe in treason: in murthering men in thair bedds: and slaying men comming behind them, or taking all aduantage possible: one of them being of the famely of Gonzague of al antiquitie allyed vnto the Spanyardis

nyardes againſt this Kingdome, and him ſelf at this preſent penſioner vnto the ſaid king of Spaine: The vther a very Varlet, growen vp through bauderies and ruffianly behauiour; who ſeiketh nothing but the extirpation of the Nobilitie, which is enemie to his villany; yea and is not aſhamed, notwithſtanding all the welth whereunto he hath attayned in this Kingdome, to becum neuertheles pencioner vnto the King of Spaine. But as touching the Duke of Guiſe, when the King firſt motioned vnto him the murthering of the Admirall after that maner, it is well knowen that he made anſwer how that he culd not finde in his hart after that ſort to be reuenged: howbeit if it pleaſed his Maieſtie, according to his Authoritie, to commit them bothe into a cloſe feild, man to man, then wald God ſhew in the end who had right or committed wrong, neuertheles, through thair importunacie he was finally brought to condiſcend thereunto, but with ſolempne proteſtation that it was only for his obedience ſake vnto the King: and in deid him ſelfe ſaued diuers gentilmen, and withheld his whole gouernment from all ſlaughters. There wer alſo many Lordes who maid open proteſtation that they miſlyked of theſe ſo extreme cruelties, and vthers who fled the Court leaſt they ſuld ſeme partakers in ſo pernitious counſallis: ſeing alſo that thay had plainely perceaued at the ſeige of Rochel, where thay had bene, that Religion was no longer the occaſion, and that hir viſerd being pulled of, thay ſe that ſhe ſought by one meanes or vther, nothing but to bring the whole Nobilitie to deſtruction. Of this number wer the Lordes of Mommorencie, the Marſhall de Coſſe and

The Duke of Guiſe is loth after anye ſuch maner to ſlaye the Admirall.

vthers who becaus thay had not wet thair blades so largely in French blood as was wished, neither vowed them selues to the Quenes party by sum notable wickednes, were accounted among the capitall enemies: and of them, thair seruants, and deirest freindis, wald she be dispatched with all speid possible. Thay had escaped vpon Sanct Barthelmewes day: afterward Moureuet the mã slayer, being by the Quene hyred, was commanded at Fountainebeleau to kill the Duke of Mõmorencie: an vther tyme thay watched the said Duke with a certaine number of horses in the Forest of Soysõs: and in case she had bene, at the instant requeist of the people, compelled to keip the Estates, she was resolued thair to intrap thẽ. Finally about this tyme, they came to wait vpon the King, vnto Boys de Vincennes, whither (saith she) his Maiestie vnder pretence of his seruice called them for the establishing of his Kingdome: neither came thay thither, as being ignorant of thair enemies determinations, for already thay had sufficient experiẽce of thair myndes, but trusting in their owen innocencie, they referred the rest vnto God, whome thay tuke for thair sheild, seing it pleased thair Prince to call thẽ, & to open vnto thẽ his mynd, to ỹ end to know thair aduise in maters cõcerning the vniuersall cõmoditie of thair countrie. But there remained yet one let, to hindred ỹ executiõ of any interprise aganis their persons, & ỹ was this, that my Lord the Marshall de Anuill was in Languedoc, who in case he suld heir or know any thing heirof, had meanes anough to be reuenged: he about the same time had sent Monsieur de Montalere, the maister of his Cãpe, to moue the King to send succour aswel of

An interprise against the hous of Mõmorencie & others.

An interprise against the Marshall de Cosse.

money as men, to mainteyn the warre againſt the proteſtantis in Languedock wherunto the quene anſwered all in contraries, namely that ther was no more to do but to harken after peace, affirming that the King at what price ſo euer it wer, was very deſirous of the ſame, wherefore ſhe deſired the ſaid Monſieur de Anuille to trauel earneſtly thairin; and not to refuſe the opinion and aduiſe of the Cardinal of Armignac, who was reſident in Auignion.

Within a while ſhe ſent vnto him the Lordes of S. Supplice and of Villeroy the Secretary of the Kingis commandementis, vnder cullour to agre vpon a peace, but in deid, to deuiſe ſum meanes with the Lordes of Ioyeuſe, Maugeron and Furguenaux, how to ſeaſe vpon his perſon, and to apprehend him either dead or in lyfe.

While this practiſe was in hand, the King commendeth all his affairis vnto the Duke of Mommorency, and putteth all into his handis; deſiring him that as the faithfulleſt ſeruant whome he knoweth within his dominions, and one whom he loueth, not as a brother in law, but as a naturall brother, he wald deuiſe ſum meanes how to pacifie his eſtate. The Quene alſo aſſureth him that the King will no longer be gouerned othet then by his aduiſe, alſo that whatſoeuer Artickles ſalbe proponed, the ſame is his Maieſtie minded to grant vnto his ſubiectis, and to be breif, ſhe appointeth him arbitre in all thinges.

The Duke of Mommorency put in all truſt by the King.

This order continewed a while, euen vntill ſuch tyme as the King, who ſince his iorney vnto Vitry whither he cõducted the King of Pole had ſcarce had his health, began to waxe worſe and worſe;

worse, and to become very leane and to faull away, whereupon the Phisitions conceaued but small hope of his recouerie, and wer it that they iudged him to be consumed with poiso (ordinarely tearmed a pike sauce) or vtherwise, yet surely they assured the Quene that he wold hardly escape the moneth of Aprill. Hir suithsaiers in whō she reposed great cōfidēce, wer of the same minde wherfore it was time to prouid against the chāge. She had of long tyme perceaued that my lord the Duke hir sone condemned hir treasons and cruelties, and misliked of that, that she maid so smal account of the roting out of the nobilitie, and of maynteyning the warris for the same purpose, vnto the great detrimēt of the people, and in maner the vtter destruction of the whole Realme, for the same caus she hated this his so gentle, manifest, and assured french nature, nothing comparable vnto hir, which delited in nothing but ruine and desolation. Againe, she perceaued that in eace the King deit (as it was no vther lyke) the whole regiment of the Kingdome, by right appertained vnto him during the absence of the King of Poole, as being the next of the blood, & liuetenant vnto the King Charles in all the lands of his obedience. Also thair was no likelihood of the King of Pooles speidy returne, for the Poloners had before his coronatiō forced him to swe are, that vpon no occasiō what soeuer, yea in case the King his brother died, yet suld not he in any wise forsake thē. Againe they had bene at great charge before he culd be brought thether, and are people which will haue all promyses kept. Also the way is tedious, his person weak, and no small

Slanders raised to bring the Duke de Alenson into contempt & vpō what occasion.

danger to depart, without bidding them farewel. To get therfore the gouernment againe into hir owen handis, & thereof to depriue my ſaid Lord the Duke hir ſonne, vnto whome the Lawes of the Realme and all auncient cuſtoumes did before giue the ſame, ſhe determined with conuenient ſpeid to bring him into the hatred of the Catholikes, through ſclanders and fals reportis, affirming that at the ſame tyme that the Proteſtantes had againe taken wepon in hand, he had gotten intelligence with thē, vnder culour wherof ſhe cauſeth to tak the wepons from his gard, procuring him to be narowly looked vnto, and keipeth him as it wer priſoner at Boys de Vincennes aforenamed, and with him the King of Nauarre. This did ſhe not tearme flatly a priſon, for that word had bene to odious, notwithſtanding that, he culd not go forth without a gard vnto whome ſhe gaue moſt ſtraight charge ouer him, whereby he durſt talk with no man, but was ſo ſtraightly watched, as to tell his ſteppes & count his wordis, and the weaker that the King waxed, the more occaſions found ſhe to reſtrain him of his liberty whereby this young Prince, being of a coragious and valeant mynde, conſydering that his owen mother vſed ſuch extremitie toward him, grew into ſuch diſpayre, that he determined to withdraw him ſelf vnto the Coũty Lodowick of Naſſew with a few of his houſhold ſeruantis, & the caus why he choſe that place to go vnto rather thē any vther, as to haue gon into Englād, whereas not long ſince thair was a marriage motioned for him: was becaus he wold not remaine in any place, where his abode might procure ſuſpicion, what

The Duke de Alenſon impriſoned.

The Duke de Alenſon determined to goe to the Conntv Lodowick.

what league soeuer thair wer, but he chose rather to be in some place wher he might do vnto his brother some acceptable seruice: For about the same tyme The County Lodowick had an armye of Germaynes in the Kingis pay vpon the borders of Brabant, which the County of Rhetz had newly brought vnto him, wherewithall to continew warre against the King of Spaine, and had receaued of the said County de Rhetz, two hundreth and fourty thousand franckes, notwithstanding his commission stretched to deliuer a whole hundred thousand crownes; but the rest he reserued to by him self pinnis. Besides that, vnder his maiesties warrãt two thousand french futemen wer marching toward his succour, whome the gouernours of Metz, Thou, Verdune, and vthers the principall frontier Towns, did quietly permit to depart from thair banners with thair furniture vnder the charge of Capitane Brazet a Germayn and of Monsieur de Etlhe, according to a treaty sundrie tymes motioned vnto the said Lord, the County Lodouik by Iohne Valcas Fragose and with the King in the Name of the Prince of Orenge by the Lord of Humbres. This interprise being discouered semed a reasonable occasion more straightly to restraine this pure Prince, and in steid of publisheing the treuth, she perseuered in dispersing a thousand slanders, for hir whole drifte was at the death of the King to be sure of his person: She also at the same tyme seased vpon hir Sone in law the King of Nauarr, and for that the Prince of Conde, was at his gouernment in Picardy, whither the King had before sent him, notwithstanding he were not participant or of

The King of Nauarre imprisoned.

knoledge in this interprise, yet sent she hir letters vnto the Cardinall of Cregny and Monsieur de Creuecoeur Lieutenant to the said Prince, for to apprehend him in Amyens, where he was then resident, wryting also vnto the Maior of the said Cietie, with the help of the cõmons, to assist thé, in somuch that had he not mistrusted sumthing, aswell by the wordes which he hard of the Post, as also by such preparatiues as he perceaued, he had bene prisoner so well as the rest: But he with drew him self to his hous at Muret vnder cullour of going on hunting, whereas hearing that my Lord the Duke de Alenson and the King of Nauarre wer in hold, he tuke his iorney toward Germany, and passing by Fere gaue warning to Mõsieur de Thore who vnderstading that thay both had and did lay handes vpon the principall seruantis belonging to my Lord the Duke aforesaid, fearing least him self suld be one of the first that suld be sought for, he determined to departe the Realme.

A nterprise against the Prince of Conde.

Thus was the whole treuth of the mater, neither wer thay euer vtherwise determined: Marke therefore, how this agreth with such thingis as she wald perswade the warld. Thair was saith she a great conspiracy found out: my Lord the Duke de Alenson was minded to haue fled to the protestantis and so to haue molested the whole Realme: By these reportis he became odious among the catholickis: Againe he determined to reuége the bloody Sainct Barthelmews feast at Paris, & vpon Easterday during high mes, he wald haue set fyre in sundry places of the Cietie, wherby to bring it al into ashes. These deuises haue brought him

Slanders raised against the Duke de Alenson cõcerning ane new conspiracie.

him into displeasure in the capitall Cietie of the Realme, and so consequently in all the rest: Thus doth she pretend to atteine vnto hir purpose.

The protestantis, when she went about to murther them, had conspired: so had now these pure princes, becaus they might be kept prisoners, and that thair liues suld remaine in hir handis, whirby they wer to be ordered as might best stād with maintenance of hir tiranny: you did se Briquemault and Cauannes openly executed, to the end to set some shew vpon the conspiracy of the Admirall and to iustifie the feast of Sainct Barthelmew: euen so might you heir haue sene the execution of the County Coconnaz, Mōsieur de la Maule and vthers, whereby to coulor the emprisonment of these pure Princes.

I pray you let vs diligently examine this mater, and not to be led with euery report: Let vs so opē our eyes, as that the mistes of these iuglers may no longer abuse our sight with contrary thingis. In cace this conspiracy be trew, then must we indeuour most greuously to punish the conspirators: but if it be fals, thē ought we to our powers to deliuer our Princes from being oppressed with slanders: It is our partes to open the prisons, to tak the irons from thair leggis, and to restore thē vnto the degre which of right belōgeth vnto thē: For this caus be we in armes, and thairfore we ar bound to deuyde the fals pretence of thair imprisonment from the trew caus, the slander frō the accusation, and the cullour of Iustice from the euident iniury offered vnto them.

This mater better examined.

My Lord the Duke (say thay) hath intelligēce with the Protestantis through the counsal of Mōsieur de

A confutation of these slanders.

sieur de Thore, the Vicounte of Thurenne, the County of Coconnaz, and Monsieur de la Maule: Consider I pray you whome he hath chosen for his counsallours in these affairis.

Monsieur de Thore, Sone to my late Lord the Constable, one who hath bene present in moste battallis against the Protestantis, wherin he hath so behaued him selfe, that thair is no man, who doeth not count him one of the most affectionat and deuote Catholickes in this Realme. The Vicount of Thurenne his Nephewe, a youg Lord, Catholickly brought vp euē frō his youth, who in the view of all men wrought wonders at the seige of Rochell, whome now, for a recompence, thay caus Monsieur de Maguaue to persew a hundreth leages, whereby to intrap him.

The County de Coconnaz who was als earnest as any vther in the murther of S. Barthelmew, & conducted all the Mynes at Rochell, wherein he so trauelled that all men thought him worthy of rewārde. Monsieur de la Maule who wise was wounded & was a dayly hearer of Messe yea, euen in the middest of the warres, and amongst the courtly corruptions, which had he missed of but one day, he wald haue doubted of sum great mishap that day hanging ouer his head.

I speake onely of such men as all the warld did know, neither wryte I any thing which all such as had any dealings at the Court will not testifie. But becaus my Lord the Duke loued them, they must be the first talked withall.

Wer not these, thinck you, meit men to haue counsayled any such intelligences with the Protestantis? Now whereunto did this intelligence tend,

end. To the burning (say they) of the Cietie of Paris, in reuenge of the murthers of the Protestantis. Those men, who all thair life tymes haue at all assayes warred against the Protestātis, who with the hazard of thair liues haue continually indeuored to root them out, will now indanget them selues in thair reuenge. This is a likely matter. Againe, in case they had bene thus minded: wald thay haue delt against the Burgesses of Paris, among whome they haue innumerable frendis of all qualities, who but to thair great griefe, did not behould these cruelties, and amōg whome culd be found none but raskals to deale therin? Had it not bene farre more reasonable to haue dispatched (seing thay wer so bent) three or foure strangers which gaue the counsall, framed the practise, and wer partly the executioners of the same. But peraduenture it was an easy mater to bring thair purpose to pas in Paris: That iudge you: seing it is the best inhabited Cietie in Christendome, repleniſhed with gentlemen, and at no tyme destitute of souldiers, into the which, ane ennomy with forty thousand men, notwithstanding the gates wer left open, durst hardly venture to cum.

What preparations wer thair I pray you, foūd, concerning any suche interprise? For if it suld (according to thair sayingis) haue bene put in execution the nixt day after thair apprehension, then do these men well, to put nothing in wryting; least thay should reproue them selues of falshoode, and thereby to satisfie thair owen fantasies, by abusing the people with false reportes, whiche they publishe in publicte places

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and markets: haue thay I beſeich you diſcouered any nũber of extraordinary ſouldiers in the Cietie? Of that I refer my ſelf vnto the cõmon counſall, who cuſtumably haue particular aduertiſementis of ſuch as do daylie aryue in euery quarter of the ſame. Haue thay found in any of thair houſes whome thay haue apprehẽded, any weapons hidden vp? any wylde or artificiall fyre, or ſuch lyke thingis? To be breif, haue thay diſcouered in any corner, ſtreit, or hous in all the Cietie, any likelyhood of that which thay wald mak the people to beleue, to the end to bring into hatred this pure Prince, who beareth hartie good will vnto them, and vnto all vther his affectionat ſeruantis? You will peraduenture tell me that my Lordes of the Court of Parliament wald not haue condempned ſuche a man without lawfull caus. But who ſo is of that mynde, is ignorant what tyrannie meaneth. Our owen liues ar more deir vnto vs, then any vther bodies. In the warld thair be but few ſo valiant, as to refuſe to condempne an innocent to death, in caſe (to force thẽ thairto) the knyfe be holden ready ouer thair throts. But aſke the ſaidis Lordes of that Court, whereof thay haue deriued thair proces, whither thay haue confeſſed any thing that was laid to thair charges, whither thay haue hard any one witnes, or whither thay haue found any coniecture or preſumption: Aſſuredly thair is none of them all, but priuately will ſay, no. We may well think that thay, whoſe wyfes, Children, goodes, yea and thair owen perſons doo remaine at Paris wald willingly haue proceided againſt thoſe which went about to burne thẽ vp: whereas

The Proces againſt the Coũty Coonnaz and Monſieur de Maule.

contrary.

contrarywiſe, when theſe Iudges wer expreſly cõ manded to put them to death, thay ſent to the King to declair vnto him that in theſe men thay found no ſufficient caus of condempnation, affirming that thay had examined them, and ſeuerally ſounded them ſo deip as might be, but culd get no vther of them, ſauing that thay wer very willing to ſetue & obey my Lord the Duke thair maiſter in his determinatiõ to reteir to the Coũty Lodowick: alſo for aſmuch as the King had neuer proclamed him his enemie, thay culd not vpon this ſimple confeſſion in conſcience condempne them to death: whereunto the Quene anſwered ſaying, that thay muſt neuertheles dye, vtherwiſe the King will not be well pleaſed. Heir may you ſe a goodly forme of procedingis: who ſo is determined to put any man to death ſall at all tymes finde caus ſufficient. Well heirupon ſhe found this prety ſhift to eaſe the conſciences of the ſaid Lordes of the Court, namely that ſeing thair was no vther caus wherefore thay ſuld dye, the King wald declair vnto them, that he at all tymes compted the County Lodowick for his enemie: and in deid ſhe cauſed to be diſpatched ſuch letters ſigned with the Kingis hãd, for thair diſcharge, which wer layd vp in the bottome of thair proces bagge. Heirupon were theſe pure gentilmen condẽpned as gyltie of fellony (without originall of the proceſſe) as being a capitall cryme of the Vaſſall againſt his Lord whereby to bring them into greater hatred among all men.

Conſider I pray you, how now a dayes a court of Parliament is forced to bow vnto Tyrannie. The Law condempneth to death ſuch as flee to

The examinatioun of their proces.

the enemie. That is truth: But he muſt firſt be houlden and proclamed an enemie. Now in caſe the Courts of Parliament who haue the liues of men in thair handis, and thairfore ſuld know ſic thingis, be ignorant that the County Lodowick is the Kings enemie, may not thairfore the Coũty Coconuaz, la Maule, and vther particular gentilmen, affectionate ſeruantis to thair Maiſters, iuſtly be ignorant thairof? againe when as contrariwiſe, in a place of open war or ennemitie, thay ſe that the King ſendeth daylie worſhipful Embaſſadours to deuiſe of thair ſecreit intelligẽces, he receaueth frõ thence ordinarily meſſingers, he furniſheth coyne to raiſe an army of Reſters againſt his brother in law the King of Spain, by ẏ hands of the Coũty de Rhets a Marſhal of Frãce, one who is cheif about his perſõ, apointeth thair Colonels and Reiſtre maſters by the meanes of Bregoſe to be his pentioneris, and furniſheth Mets, Thow, Verdune, and vther coaſte Towns for thair ſuccour (I will not heir ſpeak of the interpriſes againſt Maſtright & Antwerp both the Towne & Caſtel, wherein they might haue ſum ſecreit dealings) had not they thẽ iuſt caus to beliue that the King accoũted him his freind, and thairfore might lawfully follow thair maiſter into his ſeruice, ſeing alſo ẏ before the murther of S. Bart. the King had ſpokẽ vnto the ſaid Lord ẏ Duke, of creating him generall in the wars of the low coũtries againſt the King of Spain, through the meanes of the Prince of Orõge & his brother the County Lodowick, & that euen lately not a Moneth ſince, the Quene againe had talked with him about the ſame, according vnto certaine pro-

poſitions

poſitions of the ſaid County Lodowik. It ſal, beſike, be now lawfull whenſoeuer thay be diſpoſed to put any man to death, for to alledge ꝑ he hath conferred with an enemie to the Realm, & then to declair ſũ one of his freindis, an enemie, expreſly thereby to condẽpne him: wherfore thẽ do they not proceid aganis the marſhal de rhets, Galeaz, Fregoſe, & many vthers, who haue payed the money into his owen hands for the proſecuting of this war? Be not they far more culpable thẽ theſe pure gentilmẽ? In caſe any will deale ſo rigorouſly with thẽ, can they excuſe thẽ ſelues, vnles the ſtrangers, in our Realme do liue vnder any ythers law then our owẽ Princes, & that treaſon in ſũ be innocency, & in vther ſũ innocency be treaſon? But to be breif thair was no remedy but they muſt dye contrary to all equitie: for the Quene wald neidis perſwade that, notwithſtanding thair was no ſuch likelyhood, yet this pure Prince had cõſpired, by this meanes to bring him into all mens hatred, & to finde ſũ pretẽce, wherby, in cace the Kingis death, which is affirmed to draw neir, ſuld happen, to haue him in ſtraight & ſure keiping. Yet was not this ſufficiẽt. For if ſhe deteineth my lord the Duke hir ſone priſoner, & ꝑ king chãce to dye, the chief officers of the croũ might perhaps withſtand hir, becaus all right of regimẽt ouer the Realme appertaineth vnto him, vntil the returne of the king of Poole, & therfore wald not (as ſhe feareth) ſuffer hir to accõpliſh the deſtruction of this pure and deſolate Kingdõe of Frãce, through hir ordinary cruelties & miſheifs. She hath therfore cõcluded to lay hald vpõ their perſõs, to the end ther may remaine none which

might be ſo

bald, as once to open his mouth and alledge the ancient lawes which at all tymes haue bene practiſed in this Realme. She hath already the Marſhals Mommorencie and de Coſſe at the Court, as it wer in hir hands, neuertheles before ſhe layeth any hould vpon them, ſhe muſt heir ſum tydingis of the interpriſe begun againſt the perſon of my Lord the Marſhall de Anuil thair brother and confederate.

The Marſhall de Anuill aduertiſed of embuſhement againſt him.

During therefore theſe thingis, thair came a Poiſt out of Languedock, who ſhewed hir that this interpriſe was cunningly framed, from the which it will be vnpoſſible for him to eſcape: But as God wald, being onward of his iorney, he was aduertiſed of an embuſhe layd for him, and ſo returned incontinently. In the meane tyme the Quene, who thought him ſure aneugh, in a morning, cauſed to apprehend the Marſhals Mommorencie, and de Coſſe, and preſently to conuey them to the Baſtile, with a Dromme ſtriken vp before them in ſkorne, and many reprochefull wordes of the people, as againſt infamous and moſt criminall perſons: Alſo at the ſame tyme, ſhe diſpatched certaine companyes to apprehēd Monſieur de Meru thair brother and Sone in law, but a lytle before he was gone from his hous, & thairfore thay apprehended ſuch of his ſeruants as thay culd finde.

The Marſhall apprehended.

An confutation of the ſlanderis againſt them

If you demand what theſe pure Lordes haue done, wherefore they deſerue ſuch intertainmēt, ſhe will anſwer that they alſo haue conſpired againſt thair Maieſties, and haue interpriſed againſt the Kingis owen perſon: for thus hath ſhe cauſed the King to wryte to all the Gouernours of his

of his Prouinces: and now ſall you ſe the likelihoodis. You may almoſt geſſe how long it is ſince that this drifte againſt the Marſhall de Anuill was begun. If it wer for this conſpiracy that ſhe wald apprehend him among the reſt, as thay do giue furth that it was, then belike the ſame was dyſcouered before thair wer any commiſſion to take him: If it wer diſcloſed, then ſuld the King by al reaſon haue furniſhed himſelf thairagainſt, vpon far les occaſions hath he ſtrengthened his Gardes afore tyme: At the leaſt wiſe, it was not meit that he ſuld cõmit his lyfe into thair hands which indeuoured to take the ſame from him. But mark I pray you whither he tuke any head, whither he miſtruſted any thing, yea whither he hath any, euen the leaſt mynd in the warld thairof? All this tyme Monſieur de Mommorency is about his Maieſties perſon at Boys de Vincennes, he goeth where he liſte, he doth what pleaſe him, he commandeth the Garde of the Kingis owen perſõ, who ar expreſly charged to obey him, he hath the keis of the Caſtle in his own handis, he giueth the watch word, he hath as full auctoritie as a Conſtable may haue, yea euen the night before he was apprehended. Is not this then to hould furth his throat to whome ſoeuer will cut the ſame? Is not this (if we credite thair lyis) to commit him ſelf into the handis of traytors, and as you wald ſay, to conſpire againſt him ſelf? Is it credible that a man hauing ſuch an opiniõ of an vther, can repoſe ſuch confidence in him? But contrarywiſe the Quene knew him for ſo good a man, that ſhe was well aſſured it wald neuer enter into his hart to abuſe any ſuch auctority, & therfore

fore did permit the ſame to him expreſly, to the end to put him out of all dout, vntil the time wer cõmen that he muſt be apprehended: euen or about the ſame tyme that the practile againſt Rochell ſuld haue bene put in execution, after the which moſt haue ſucceded a generall murther, namely of thoſe Lordis which now ar in queſtiõ. The King and the Quene ludged at Chantilly a hous of the Duke of Mommorency, wheras thay wald no Garde but his owen, thairby to declair what treuth thay repoſed in his honeſtie. Heirby it is eaſie to iudge whither he hath conſpired, or vthers haue conſpired againſt him. As for the Marſhall de Coſſe, who hath done ſo great ſeruice in peace and war, in both forreyne and ciuil warres, and for the Marſhall de Anuill, who hath continewed ſuch ſhairp warres againſt the Proteſtantis in Languedock, notwithtanding whatſoeuer occaſons of diſcontentation that he had, who only among all thoſe which theſe two yeares haue continewed the warres, haue had many Townes, who hath ventured his owen perſon, & loſt his brother in law Monſieur de Candal, who now at the expres cõmandement of his Maieſtie, ſeaketh but to pacifie his Regiment, for which caus this ſnare is ſet for him, what may be alledged againſt thẽ both, or wherwith may they be noted, ſauĩg that thay be Marſhals of Frãce, cheif officers of this Crowne, who according to their dewties ought to put to thair handis that the Realme may be gouerned by thẽ to whome of right it appertaineth? and ſuch as for the profit of thair countrie (in caſe the King ſuld dye) wald vſe thair authoritie? or what may be imputed to Mõſieur de Meru,

de Meru, Colonel generall of the Zuitzers, who hath assisted at euery ciuill battell with renowne, euē at the seige of Rochel after the slaughter of S. Barthelmew, where he was almost slaine, saiing that he is the Sone of a Constable of France, & of a famely which of long tyme hath gouerned the affaires of the Realme to all mens contentation, and yet neidis must be ruted out? But God be praised that the Prince of Cōde, is escaped, whōe the Quene will not permit to approch so neir to the Crowne, also that the Marshall de Anuil had warning in time of the embushment which waited for him: For assuredly I wote not what this Medea wald haue done with these pure Princes, neither do I dout, but we suld haue sene moste pietifull & miserable sightes, also sum Sanct new lie renowned through the slaughter of sum Catholicke gentilmen good freindes and faithfull seruantis to those who presently ar prisoners, & peraduēture after them, she wald haue proceded against vthers.

The threttie day of Maij the King dyed, the Quene immediatly cōmeth to the Loure at Paris, with these Princes she causeth to grate vp the windowes, to dam vp the gates, shet vp al entries, and to strengthen the Garde least these gētilmen suld be gotten from hir, and to be breif, retayneth the whole Regiment in hir owen handis, vsurping the tytle of Regent. Iudge therefore now by the end whereunto you knowe hir to be arriued, and think vpon the treuth of such thinges as I haue heirtofore discursed vpon: I might here declair how by the Salike Lawes wemen haue als smal right to rule and gouerne our

Charles the nynth dyeth

Quene Mother vsurped the Regiment

Kingdome,

Kingdome, as to pretend to any ſucceſſion in the ſame, and that whenſoeuer the contrary hath chanced, it hath bene onely through manifeſt abuſe, wherof we haue at al tymes borne the ſmart: alſo that the publick affairis conſiſt not in that this woman is called Quene, or beareth a crown, but in that for the moſt part, ſhe ruleth all thingis after the appetite of ſuch immoderate paſſiõs, as ſhe is tranſported withall, and of the firſt perſon who by any ſubtiltie, through his indeuour, can atteyne vnto hir fauour, as our hiſtories do teſtifie.

But admit this womans cruelties tak place in this Kingdome, and that ſum curſed examples do conclude a conſequent, is it therefore lawfull to declare hir ſelf Regent, or for hir to gouerne? Is thair no more to do, but to caus a ſecretary ſo to write vpon the pacquets? or is it ſufficient to ſay with Pope Iohn the twenty and thre: Ego ſum Papa? I pray you who hath Named the Quene mother Regent of France? was it the late King? It is poſſible that, as in his life tyme he ſpake but with his mouth, ſhe ſuld now at his death caus him to nominate hir? I doubt not bot at his death at the laſt gaſpe, through hir Importunacie, ſhe wroung out of him ſum yea, wherewith to coulor hir preſumption: And in deid it ſemeth by the declaration which ſhe hath publiſhed, that ſhe was the ſãme day that he dyed, by his mouth declared Regent, notwithſtanding that, to abuſe the people, ſhe at the firſt blaſt ſo nameth hir ſelf, becaus of his ſicknes, at what tyme his diſeaſe waxed deſperate, & him ſelf drew into the laſt houre. But admit the late King had made a will (as in deid

deid he did not) had ſealed it, that it had bene authenticall, and that in the ſame he had created hir Regent, had he any auctoritie ſo to do? Regences eyther be thay, or euer wer thay geuin by will? Heir is the poinct. Kingis are eſtabliſhed of God, as adminiſtrators of Realmes: During thair liues thay do make thair ſubiectis partakers in the adminiſtrations of the ſame: The good men by a lawfull counſall, after the opinion whereof thay do iudge of the capacitie & merites of eache perſon: The euell men, after the appetite of the paſſions either of them ſelues, either of ſuch as do poſſes them, preferring for the moſt part the euill man before the good, and the able man before him that is quite voyde of abilitie: yet is all this ſumwhat tolerable: But did euer any heir of a King who at his death gaue the adminiſtration of his Realme, which now him ſelf was at the poinct to loſe, vnto any vther? either that one brother at his deceſe culd appoynct a proctor for his vther brother, who by right ſuld ſuccede him, notwithſtanding that in his life tyme he might alienate his goodis, as our Kingis may not, without the conſent of the eſtates? Or may a Biſhop Name a ſteward or Adminiſtrator of Churche goodis for his ſucceſſor? either to be briefe, may any man after his deceaſe be adminiſtrator of a Biſhop, or King? This is plaine mockery, the kingis them ſelues being priſoners, may not doit, becauſe it is to be preſumed that thair willis are alwayis captiue with thair perſonnes. Thus haue we ſene that neither King Iohn being priſoner in England, neither Frances the firſt, being keipt at Madrill, did euer prouide for the adminiſtration

of thair Realmes. But during the imprisonment of King Iohn the estates did prouide, and in the tyme of King Frances, the regent whom he euen long time before his Captiuitie had nominated, was ready to be debarred. So long therfore as the late King liued, she had sum shew wherby to gouerne, and in case during his sicknes he had recommended vnto hir the regiment, then was it euen to his laste gaspe, after a maner to be borne withall: Neuertheles the late Kinges authoritie dyed and was buryed with him, his commandemétis loste thair force, and as by the death of the commander or Maister, all his commandementis and proxies ar abolished, and the authoritie to giue them is fallen to his successour, euen so is all the power which the King in his life time might seme to haue giuen to the Quene his Mother, at his death brought to nought and all his authoritie fallen to the King of Pole his heyre and successour. Doeth she thairfore to the behufe of our King which is in Poleland, tak vpon hir the Regency? In case she had sum blancke, for sum vther affaires, signed by his owen handis, then might she peraduenture, haue repleniished the same with whatsoeuer she supposed moste fit to abuse the people, but euen the nixt day after the kingis deceis, I say, the thrid of Iune tuke she not full possession of that name? caused she not hir selfe openly to be declared Regent by vertew of these declaratory letters, a whole Moneth before our King culd haue sent to hir any commission for the Regency? And yet admit that he now had set hir confirmation heirin, what els may a man think, sauing that seing she had already vsurped it, he

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he feared that if he ſhould deny her, ſhe wald worke him ſum diſpleaſure, euen as wiſe men who will ſeme to giue that thing freely vnto v-thers, which them ſelues can not tak from thē. Sum man might alledge that peraduenture the Court of Parliament had granted or confirmed the ſame to hir.

But far leſſe is the authoritie that that Court hath, and the contrary is to be ſene, for it is euident that neuer Court of Parliament in this Realme had any auctoritie in the mater now in queſtion. Yea that is more, thay haue no longer power, thay may no more iudge any perſon, thay can decyde no proces. To be breif, thay be quite aboliſhed and dead, vntill ſuch tyme as thay be newly confirmed into a body by the confirmatorie letters of the new King, and ſo be, as it wer reuiued, or in caſe of his long abſence, by an aſſemblie of the Eſtates. Thete is no counſaller in the Court which will deny me this point, and hathe not alwayes ſene the experience heirof. How therefore may my Lordis of the Parliament confirme to hir any ſuch authoritie, ſeing them ſelues haue none at all? Conſidering thay be no lōger? and that with the King thay ar dead, and cā not be reuiued without the confirmatorie letters of the new King who is in Polonia, or of the Eſtates. To ſay it was at the inſtant requeiſt of my Lordes the Duke of Alenſon or of the King of Nauarre, wer a ſhift ſimple anough to deceaue babes. It is knowen how thay be in bondage, any man whoſe body is impriſoned can not haue his ſpeache fre, the grate, the Gardes, and the incloſures do in my defence beare witnes againſt hir.

The Parliament at the kingis deceis leaſeth his force.

But now our King is absent and far of, and can not peraduenture so sone returne, and therefore it is to be feared least any thing might cum to cõfusion, vnles sum body had the gouernement of the affaires. I grant it, and our lawes haue very well prouyded against all such inconueniences: and that is thus, that as it hath alwayes bene vsed at the chaunge or long absence of any King, the Estates suld dewly be assembled, and according to thair power suld declair a Regent, appointing him to his counsall, verteous and expert persons by whose aduise he suld rule and gouerne the realme: when King Iohn (saith our Histories) was taken before Poiters and led captiue into England, Charles Duke of Normandy his eldest sone as being Lieutennant generall of King Iohn his Father, assembled the thre Estatis, to prouyde for the Regiment, during his Fathers captiuitie: who being cauled and lawfully assembled at Paris, declared and proclaymed him Regent of the Kingdome, and decreed that they suld vse his seales, wheras before the Estatis had so declared him, he neuer tooke vpon him other name, then lieutenant to the King his Father, as he was before his Fathers imprisonment, although he wer the eldest sone and was cum to age. Before that King Frances went toward the conqueste of Millan, the yere that he was takẽ at the siege of Pauy, he had left and constituted his Mother Lady Lewis of Sauoy for Regent and gouerner: yet neuertheles the mightiest men in the Realme, the Lordis of the Parliament, and the Cietie of Paris did solicit my Lord Charls the Duke of Vendosme to take the Regiment vpõ him, as the next of the blood which

Regency geuin in the Kinges absence by the Estates.

The Annates of King Iohn.

Marr. du bellay lib. 3.

which then he was as well by reason of the Nonage of the Children of France as also by the absence of the Duke of Alencon and the reuolte of the Duke of Bourbon promising to assist him in the assembly of the Estates, and to the same end, to deale with the rest of the Cieties in France to the end to proclaime him Regent, as of right they ought to do: and had he not bene more willing to forsake his right, then in purchacing the same to be caus of sum news, the Estatis wer determined to name him Regent and yet she was made Regent before his taking, being of nothing so dangerous a nature as our Quene mother is, neither detained she the officers of the Crown in prison, but was partly gouerned by their counsell. These ar examples of our tyme and yet fresh in mynde: who so sall mak any farther serche, as in the voiages of our Kings into the holy land, sal find the same order at all tymes obserued: what therefore letteth vs from doing the lyke? Ar our courages quailed? be our hartes done? haue we abolished all our ancient and commendable custumes? sall we permit our Princes to be throwen downe frō the places which to thē apperteineth? what speik I of being throwen downe? nay rather oppressed with sclanders, a womans prisoners, and in danger of thair liues? Will you indure it my Lords of Paris, who wer the heires of so many French mē, which so well haue mainteined the right of their Princes? sall your Cietie be a Fortresse to this tyranny? sall the hous wherein you vsed so honorably to iudge your King serue now as a straight prison to thair blood? do you tary for one or vther of these Forreyne strangers, to sum and see

Estienne H.

fyre in your houses, spoile your fieldes, & destroy your farmes, thereby to force you to set at liberty these pure prisoners, this the blood of your Kingis, as thinking vnder cullour that they are within your wallis, you to be maintainers of such bondage? will you not be ashamed that they who in no poinct ar bound, sulk now cum & open your prisons to let your princes out: I can not beleue that you haue so far forgotte all care of your kingis as that you wald not set thé in perfect liberty and in that autority which nature hath giuen thé and thair vertu do deserue but peraduenture no one of you loketh vpon another and waiteth who sal first set to his hand: yea but we hav feare your a woman, a stranger, one whome all the warld hateth one who hath no boldnes but by our cowardlines and is a murtherer only by our owen handis: if we leue hir, if they which detest hir gouernment do forsake hir, wher ar hir sergeants to lay hold of vs, hir iudges to condépne vs, or hir hangmen to execute vs: if they, which in hart do forsake hir wald in effect leue hir, where wer then hir armies to force vs, hir gard to skare vs, or hir coyne to content them: thair is no more to do but to some boldlie to tak hart, then will this autoritie, this boldnes, founded and mainteined vpon our sugishnes, and dastardlines, fal doun of itself: whey of I pray you, do you think? what can the reuenge of this woman bring vnto you, profit or los, good or euil, ressablishment or vtter destruction: haue we alredy forgotten all the euillis which the Realme hath and still through hir doth abide? or think we that this new title hath in one night amended hir: doth not the clergy se how thair

goodis are burdened with tenthis, spoiled by such Italianis as she prouideth for, and set to sale vndercullour of cruill warris, thought in deid to satisfy to hir vnprofitable expēses, wherein after the maner of hir great Oncle Pope Leo she deliteth to much? perceueth not the nobilitie, how thair goodis ar in maner wasted, them selues through warres and murthers extinguished and spoiled of thair honoris & dignities, to the end with the same for to indew vnworthy and strange persōs, marck they not also wherupō do tend these goodly propositions of taking from Gentlemen the offices of iustices, of serching thair demains, the rightis of the third and the danger of Impositions xpō baptisme, mariages, and such lyke, which all had bene already agreed and concluded vpon, had not the protestantis bene, against whome she hath sought for a tyme to intertaine vs: do not the commounis consider of the burdenis of taxes, lones or such lyke whiche daylie are layde vpon thair owen neckis for the buylding of vnprofitable housis, for the inriching of strangers with wonderfull giftes, for the making of a lytle Raskall de Gondy one of the richest Lordes in France? And who knoweth not that all these mischeifis haue proceided onely from hir who had gotten suche possession of the late King, by the honest deuises afore rehearsed, that he gouerned no more then in his Minoritie, and are we yet so farre abused as to thincke that she will amend?

The Clargye.

The Nobilitie.

The Communaltie.

You se how she entered into this Regencye, namely ouer the wall, and by the Wyndowe

lyke to a theif, neither luke we that she suld do vther then robbe and spoyle: you se already how she beginneth: She hath so wel mollified two or thre of the Clargy, that for Inuy one at the vther thay haue granted to hir an excessiue sõme which can not be payed without exceding oppressiõ of all Ecclesiasticall persons, already heirtofore sufficiently burdenned, and in the meane tyme it is the pure incumbent who hath intereſt, the silly Curate or the Bishop which simply is resident in his dioceſe, but not my Lord the Cardinall, the Courtisan Bishop or Abbot, who knoweth how to be recompensed, and sall haue the first Abbay that falleth, who semeth liberal of his owẽ purse, wherby to haue occasion so to be of vther mens. She hath already procured the deathis of a hundreth gentilmen of both Religions, and yet to hir power contineweth the same order, in steid that wayting the cũming of our King out of Polelãd she shuld stay all weapons: For, whome do thay think to serue, who in hir behalf do command, or those men which do obey them? To the king? I can not tell that, neither know I, when he cũmeth, whither they salbe disaduowed, for leading his subiectis to the slaughter without his knowledge. I know not whither the bloods & liues of a thousand the Kingis subiectis, whome aswell of the one part, as of the vther, at the appetyte of a woman, destitute of all lawfull authoritie, they haue caused to dye, sall one day yet be redemanded at thair handis. It is a thinge which hath in tyme past bene sene, and yet in this case might peraduẽture once more be soght for. But wherefore thincke you that not long since

The Clargye.

The Nobilitie.

ſince ſhe cauſed to behead the County of Mon-
gommery being a priſoner of warre (for all men
know that the death of the late King Henry was
not to be imputed to him) vnles it wer partly to
ſatiſfie hir vẽgeable appetite, partly alſo to moue
the Proteſtantis to vſe the lyke courteſie toward
the Catholicke Lordes, in caſe any do fall into
thair handis? But what may I ſay in this point,
that ſhe hath bene ſo far paſt ſhame, ſo vniuſt, ſo
cruell, and ſo vnnaturall, as for to miniſter both
the ordinary and extraordinary rack, vnto the
ſaid County, to the end to compell him to con-
fes that my Lord the Duke cauſed him to enter
into the feild, thereby ſeaking to bring the ſaid
pure Prince more and more into hatred? Which
mater neuertheles, euen at the point of death, he
proteſted to be moſt fals, affirming that he tuke
weapon only for the recouery of his goodes and
the libertie of his Religion. Culd there haue
bene any more wicked inuention deuiſed? Was
it not a ſigne of als ſmall account of the lyfe and
honour of hir Sone, as of the ſimpleſt or meaneſt
Proteſtant in France. And to returne to our ma-
ter, as touching the thride eſtate, ſe you not at
which end ſhe beginneth, ſeaking euen at hir cũ-
ming in, to tak vp the rentes of the towne hous
of Paris? Is there any good hous (I ſpeak not of
Paris only) but almoſt throughout all France,
which therein hath not great intereſt? In the
meane tyme vnder the ſhaddow of thre or four
perſons to whome ſhe will giue ſixe tymes more
then their intereſt) who hath granted it to hir,
all the Realme muſt therin be ordered at hir plea-
ſure. And to what end tendeth all this? euen to

The Cõmu-
naltie.

finde

find meanes to keip ſtill our Princes and Lords in priſon, againſt whom ſoeuer ſuld endeuour to deliuer them, to plant good garriſons in the forteresſes which lately ſhe maid to be builded within the cieties, to the end, whatſoeuer ſhe did none ſuld preſume once to tell hir therefore, and to diſpoſe of our liues and goodis as ſhe ſall think good. To be breif, ſhe maketh vs to pay for the haulter wherin ſhe pretendeth heirafter to hang vs: & therfore let vs ſeik from hir no vther thing then euell vpon euell, and deſtruction vpon diſtruction: for ſhe neuer either did, either will do vtherwiſe. So long as ſhe hath to do in the Regiment, although our King ſuld cum, euin to morow, out of Polonia, yet ſall we haue nothing but euill. The hogg-ſhed may wel be chãged but the wine wil ſtill be all one: For ſhe can (if a man luke not narowly to hir) ſo farre abuſe his lenity, and vſurpe his auctority as to bend the ſame after hir wonted maner. For the nature of this woman is alwayis to be doing euell: and this much more I ſay, that neuer woman who yet gouerned our Realme, did breid more miſheif. I will not heir repeit the mõſtrous vices both of hir ſelf and of vthers: For that wald require a ſeuerall volume: I ſpeike only of thair gouernment. Fredegonde, Brunehault, Plectinde, and Iudith, did ſo long as they liued, kindle and maintaine ciuill warris in this Realme, thereby to diſpatch the nobility, ſetting ielouzy betwene the Father and the ſone, the brother and the brother, to the end during thair diſcordis to intertayne them ſelues. Blanch did vſurpe the protectorshippe of the King S. Lewes, being betwene eleuin and twelue zearis of age.

Wemens pernicious Gouernment in France.

The annales of France Otto Friſing in the Chro.

Which

which least the Estatis suld take from hir, she moued the Catholickes to areare warre against the Albigenses, whome the Pope had pronounced Heretikes: Notwithstanding sone after all men meruelled to beholde moste parte of the nobles of the Realme either to be Albigenses, or ellis to haue sum intelligence with them, as she went about to make the worlde beleue, and in deid vnder this pretence she dispatched hir handis of them all, and when the King hir sonne came to his Maioritie, after she had most rigorously kept him vnder, she found meanes to remaine only Regent, by sending him toward the conquest of the holy land. This is the dessoun which our Quene hath learned of hir, as now we may manyfestly persaue. She wald perswade vs that we be all Protestantis. She also may well affirme that she hath chosen hir for a Paterne in hir forme of Regiment.

of Aimo. lib. 5. The Lord of Louwill.

Incase the Estatis of this Realme had not preuented the shameles bouldnes of Isabell of Bauiere the wyfe of Charles the sixt, and sent hir to dresse hir Gardens at Tours, she wald in no wise haue degenerated from the nature of the rest, as was eudent be hir beginningis. The Lady of Beauiew at what time the Estatis of Towris had commended to hir the charge ouer the parson of Charles the eight hir brother, determined to intrude hir self into the Regiment, and conceaued such a Ielousie against the Duke of Orleans, that she went about to lay houlde of him, whereby he fell in such dispaire, that he fled whether so euer he might: This Duke was he who afterward was named Lewes the twelfth,

Enguerrane of Montreuell in the Annales of France.

and

and ſurnamed, the Father of the people, one of the beſt Princes that euer liued, to whom at that tyme, the Nobilitie profered the Regency.

Againe of freſhe remembrance, I ſpeak of the tyme of Frances the firſt, who during his voyage vnto Italy, left the Lady Lewes of Sauoy, his mother Regẽt, was it not the caus of the loſſe of Millan whiche before had bene wyn with the blood of ſo many Frenchmen, when as ſhe cauſed Semblancay (who for that deid was put to death) to delyuer vnto hir the four hundreth thouſand Crownes which by him the King ſent to the lord of Lautrec, who, his army being for want of payment broken, was compelled quite to forſake all?

Whereas alſo Brunehault, by moſt mens opinions, ſemeth to haue gotten the victorie of wickednes aboue all vthers, and that our Hiſtoriographers ſpeaking of Fredegond dó name hir, the malice of the warld nixt vnto Brunehault, yet ſemeth it, by conferring the dealings of this woman, that all hir lyfe tyme, ſhe hath ſought no vther thẽ to cary away the victory aboue the ſaid Brunehault, as may plainely be ſene in caſe any man will confer the doinges of the one with the vther. Brunehault by byrth was an Spanyard: Katherine is an Italien and Florentyne, both ſtrangers, who bare no naturall affection towards the Kingdome: But the Italien is able to abuſe the Spanyard, and the Florentyne all vther Italiens.

The compariſon of Brũhault with Katherine.

Reid worde for word the lyfe of Brũhault in our Annales.

Brunehault was daughter of Athanage King of Spaine by reaſon whereof ſhe ſhuld loue the Nobilitie: Katherine is the daughter of Laurence de Medicis,

de Medicis, a famely growen vp through Marchandice and vsury, suche a one as can not loue the Nobilitie, and alwayes haue sought the ruting out of the same. A Sibille (saith our Histories) Propheſied that a Frog suld cũ out of Spain which suld bring to death our Kingis and Princes, and finally suld be torne with horses, you haue red the goodly prognostications, cõcerning Katherines natiuitie which foreshewed that she suld bring to destruction, the place whither she suld be maried, and the seuerall counsallis giuen thereupon. Brunehault was the daughter of ane Arian and in Arianisme instructed and brought vp. Katherine being of the race of an Atheist, and nouriſhed in Atheisme, hath repleniſhed the Realme, but specially the Court with Atheistes. Better it is to erre in one Religion, then to haue none at all, and to fayle in one Artickle, then in all the Beleif.

Brunehault was maryed to Sigebert, King of Metz, through the counsal of Godowine Maire of the Pallace, who fetched hir out of Spaine, & did to hir all the honour that he culd: in recompence whereof she did afterward put him to death: Katherine being maryed to good King Henry at that tyme Duke of Orleance, hath for the most part hated all hir benefactoures.

She culd not paciently bruke the Constables lyfe, who was the cheif author of hir Mariage, and of all the honour which euer befell hir, who also most honorably receaued hir, euen in the borders of the Realme.

She hath secreitly procured the poysoning of the Cardinall of Chastillion, notwithstanding he

only in a maner stayed hir from being sent home into Italye, and cured hir of hir sicknes at Reimes in Champagne: where the Phisitions had geuin hir ouer: Finally she hath procured the murthering of the Admirall, who moued the Estates to grant vnto hir the whole Regiment.

Brunehault persauing that hir Sone Childebert after his Fathers deceis began to smell out hir pernicious coūsallis, poysoned him in a bath, whereby she might obteyne the gouernment of the Realme, vnder the pretence of the minoritie of Theodebert and Theodorick the sonnes of hir said Sonne Childebert, of whome the one was King of Mets and Austrasie, and the vther of Orleance: Katherine in hir first yeares caused to poyson my Lord Frances the Dolphine, the elder brother of hir husband Henry, wherby he might draw neir to the Crowne: She led the late King of Nauarre to the slaughter, becaus that to him iustly apperteyned the Regiment of this Kingdome: and least I suld enter into such presumptions as I culd alledge concerning the death of the last King, she openly at this present keipeth my Lord the Duke hir Sonne, and the King of Nauarre hir Sonne in law, prisoners, the better thereby to enioye the Regency, neither know I whether they had yet liued, had not the Prince of Conde whom she wald not permit to approch so neir the succession, saued him self out of hir handes.

Brunehault, by reason of hir most priuate affaires, loued one Proclide a Romaine, or Lūbard, a man of base calling and of no value; him she honoured with the cheif offices of the Realme,

which

which by all right appertaineth to the Nobilities him did she enriche with taxes, subsidies, and exactions which she layeth vpon the commons, wherby of a pure rascall she hath maid him duke of a Duchie bought for hir ready money. This Katherine vpon lyke occasions, loueth one Gōdy a Florētyne, extact out of the race of Marchādes, the Sonne of a Banquer, whose Father twise played the Banquerout at Lions: and of one who firste was a Courtisan, but in hir age became an Baude in the said Cietie of Lions. This man hath bene knowen to follow a Thesaurars Mule, afterward he became the Clark of a Commissarie for victuallis to the Campe at Amiens: shortly after he was maid Maister of the Kingis Warderobe, and now we may se him (though not for any good seruice to the Realme) Coūty de Rhets, and almost only Marshall of France.

Brunehault was gouerned by hir Proclide, & euld neuer exalt him heigh anough to hir mynd, but continually feared least the mighty men in the kingdome wold withstand hir, and therefore she dispatched Ratirus and Egira, two great lordes, and moued warre betwene Theodorick King of Orleans whome she gouerned after hir owen fantasie, and Clothair King of Paris, expresly, (saith our Historie) to mak away the mighty, and principally Berthonault, Mayre of the Pallace, an ancient and graue Knight, who was slaine in a battall foughten at the Riuer of Estampes, after whose death she maid hir Proclide Mayre of the sayde Pallace: Katherine the easilier with hir Gondy, to gouerne alone, fearing lest the Nobilitie, suld resist hir so excessiue exalting of him,

founded only vpon a womans vnreasonable mo-
tion, kindeleth ciuill warres in this Realme, set-
teth brethren and Neighboures one against an
vther, yea she procedeth so far, as in short time to
dispatche the King of Nauarre, being the first
Prince of the blood, hauing attayned to his Ma-
ioritie: of Anna de Mommorency Constable of
France, of the Duke of Guise great maister, all
thre Peiris of France: of the Marshell of S. An-
dre, and of infinite other Lordis and gentlemen,
sum by poyson and sum by warre, whereby this
pure rascall, now remayneth in maner all only a-
bout hir, ordering all thingis after his owen plea-
sure. Theodebert King of Metz was in the begin-
ning Brunehaults best sone, hir best beloued, to
whome she gaue the greatest part of his late Fa-
thers treasures: but sone afterward he perceuing
hir driftis chased hir out of his Realme, whereby
with hir Proclide, she was driuen to retire vnto
hir vther back child Theodoric King of Orleace;
whose master of the palais she maid hir Proclide:
The Protestantis, as you se, wer in the beginning
the Kingis good subiectis, this good ladies best fa-
uoristes, and the most welcum: they smel out hir
subtilties and wil no longer haue to do with hir,
whereupon she beginneth to counterfeat all the
Catholick. Gouerning vs after the counsal of hir
Gondy as best pleseth him. Proclaid can not for-
get his nature, but burdeneth the people with
taxes and impostis, & bringeth downe the Prin-
ces and Lordis of Theodoricks Kingdome by all
meanes, and thereby getteth the displesure of all
men: Gondy dayly inuenteth new meanes how
to oppres the people, committeth all the aydis of

France

France into the handis of Italien Pedlers and gabellers, deuydeth this Realme among his lyke coequallis, and finally waxeth so presumpteous vpon the support of this woman, who hateth the Princes of the blood to death, that he will command them, euen to his Clokebagge, making of them his Varlets. But what cũmeth heirof: The Princes and Lordis of the Realme of Orleans cõteining almost the thrid part of France begin to be weary heirof, and to se to them selues.

Brunehault to the end to turne thair myndes and to occupy them vtherwise, and so still to dispatche hir self of sum one of them, through Prolides counsall, moueth warre betuix hir two backe Sonnes, Theodebert and Theodoricke, by making the pure Theodorick (whome then she gouerned) to beleue that Theodebert who before had bene hir good Chylde, was a bastard and the Sonne of a concubine.

Our Princes and great Lordis of the Realme begin already to smell that sumthing was motioned against them, and our good Quene feared greatly least thay suld reunite them selues togidder, whereby to ouerthrowe the greatnes which Gõdy sought in thair fallis, & thairfore thought it meit to set them on work, least thay suld haue any leysure to think thairof: heirupõ she perswadeth vs Catholickes (who to our costes beleue hir) that the Protestantis (which before wer hir best beloued) ar vnfaithfull subiectis to the king, that thay be Rebellis, that thay must be driuen out at the dures as bastardis and illegitimate, and thus by such subtilties, the warre is renewed and we slay our brethren, freindis, and kinsfolkes, &

After much blood shed at Brunehaultes desire, the Lordis of the Realme of Orleans (where she ruleth in the Name of Theodoricke) do returne to thair first opinion, counsalling the King to conclude peace with his brother, preponing to him the vniustice of the warre, and the intent for the which most fitly it was put in his head. The King of him self is sufficiently beaten thereto, but the Quene will in no wise harken to thé, and hir Proclide ioyneth against it, for that the peace and concord of the two brethren was capitall enemie to his greatnes, wherein by thair only discord he was vpholden. Finally thairfore, they seing him the only hinderer of thair good counsall, by a common consent, went into his Tent & slew him, and then by thair exhortations so laboured King Theodorick, that he agreed with his brother. The cheif Lordes of our Realme, seing how small account was maid of the venturing of their liues, namely that thay wer, where soeuer any were slaine in the Ciuill warres, but scoffed and laughed at: also that she sought to murther them one with an vther amõg the Protestants, wer for the most part resolued to bestow thair paines for the reestablishing of the cõmon peace, and neuer to reenter into the Ciuill warres wherein she pretended to get an end of them: but were it thay had loist parte of thair Frenche Magnanimitie, or that by a more gentle meanes thay hoped to remedy these mischeifis: thay neuer proceided so farre, as to slay this youth, notwithstanding thay knew him the cheif counsaller of these Ciuill warres, disloyalties, treasons, & murthers,

murthers, which are for the ruting of them out practised.

Brunehault a woman of an vnquyet mynde, will at what price soeuer it be, be reuenged of hir freindis death, and perseweth the principall authors thairof, Vrsie and Bolsus euen to the death. This reuenge might in sum case haue bene tollerable, becaus thay slew hir freind, whõe she loued so wel: but not so content, she renewed the warre againe betuix hir two backe Sonnes the two brethren, and thair Realmes of Metz & Orleance, and found meanes againe to put into Theodorick King of Orleance his head, that still she bare this ancient sclander, that his brother Theodebert was a bastard the Sonne of a concubine: Se how in this point our Katherine is far worse: For she hath caused to murther and slay thousandis of our pure brethren vnder cullour of the Mariage of hir owen daughter. I meane infinite gentilmen Protestantis, and many vthers of all degreis, and one among an vther wald haue slaine the cheif of vs, as the Lordes of Mommorency, the Marshall de Cosse and vthers, and vnder this pretence sought to driue the Lordes of Guise from the Court, as authors of al mischeif: We haue paciétly borne all, we haue in no point troubled hir or hir Gondy, we seik only to liue in rest: And se: becaus we will no longer dippe our blades with hir in our brothers blood, she perseweth vs to death, asmuch as euer she persewed them, she layeth a thousand embushes, she appointeth a thousand murthers, and yet after all these mischeifes, she still remaineth in so good credite with sum of vs (I wotte not by what ace-

curſed fate) that ſhe cauſeth vs to enter into warres, one againſt an vther, in the ſame pretece, as before, namely vnder cullour of Religion wher with ſhe neither is, neither was once touched. And what will be the end heirof, vnles God doth ſhortly render to vs our myndes and vnderſtanding, is yet vncertaine.

Before this ſport was done, Theodorick King of Orleans, chaſed his brother Theodebert King of Metz out of his Realme, as a baſtard which he affirmed him to be, he heweth in peces almoſt al his brothers Nobilitie, he ſhetteth vp his brother within Cullein, yea he departeth not before he hath his head, and bringeth his Children to Brũhault who ſlayeth them, ſcarce hath he accompliſhed all this, but that he repenteth, feilling an wonderfull remors in his conſcience: It happeneth that he is deſirous to Mary his late brothers daughter, who only remained, and thinketh this Mariage lawfull, becaus (ſayth the hiſtorie) he accounted hir as a baſtards daughter, but Brunehault, who for a time had vſed this pretẽce, wherby to procure them to ſlay one an vther, and before to the end he might forſake his firſt wife, had furniſhed him of Cõcubines, doeth begin to feare that, if he once fancieth this woman, he will expel hir from the gouernment, and ſheweth him, that with a ſafe conſcience he may not do it, becaus ſhe is his brothers daughter. Heir although to late, he perceueth the wickednes of this womã. Oh thou accurſed woman (ſaith he) thou haſt maid me kill my brother, thou haſt cauſed me to root out his race, and afore touldeſt me that he was nothing to me. To ſmall purpoſe was it for

this

peince to treat, for sone after she caused to ministeir to him poyso, wherof he dyed: At katherines motion we haue sufficiently slaine our brethern, shortly thair will be no more left, we haue sacrifised them to Brunehault by thousandis, & dayly sum of vs do bring in more to the slaughter. We all suld euidently know that, in that she telleth vs they be Bastardis, and be euill subiectis to the Crowne, is but forged and inuented purposely to mak vs one to slay an other. Yea, God be thanked, we for the most part do resonably weil begin to feill remorce in our consciences, for so many murthers, cruelties, and slaughters which we haue tollerated, and whereunto sum of vs haue set to our handis: already also seing we can not rayse them vp againe, we do at the least, indeuour to keip and preserue those few which be left. But what doeth our Brũehault now? Se you not how she powreth forth poyson to hir vther sone? perceyue you not how she draweth hir knife to cut our throatis? What are the Catholicke gentlemẽ whome dayly she putteth to death? What be the Lordis of Mommorancy, the Marshall de Cosse, and vther Catholicke Lordis, whom to the death she perseweth? Is not the cheif among vs whome she will slay, thairby the better to rute vs all out afterward? Se you not that, all one to hir is the lawfull and the bastard? the Catholicke and the Protestant? that she loueth neither the one neither the other? that she semed to loue the one vntill he had slaine his brother, & afterward hath purchased his death? And to what end? Only to rule alone after hir owen appetite: which be-
fore she culd not, becaus we all knew hir intente

Brunehault hathe dispatched hir two backe Sonnes, geuing the one to vnderstand that the ther was a bastard.

The Nobilitie of both Realmes for the moste part is extinguished: now, wheras before she vsed the cullour of bastardlynes to destroy the both, hir self wil reule thair Realmes, as Tutrice of the bastardis of hir Sonne Theodoricke whome she hath poysoned, and therefrom will exclude Clotayr King of Paris the nixt heyre to whome the right of these Realmes doeth appertaine: But she knoweth that the Lordis of the countrie wil indeuour to mainteyne him in his right to whõe it appertaineth, also that one Garnier: who then was Maister of the Pallace, woulde neuer permit the Regency so vnlawfully vsurped to remaine vnto hir: wherefore she maketh as she wald trauaile in the affaires of the Realme, and in the meane tyme wryteth to one of hir partakers named Albon, to murther the said Garnier: But as God wald, Albon after the reading of Brunehaults letters, tore them and the peices being gaddered againe togidder, wer brought vnto Garnier, who saued him self so well as he might, & ayded Clothair the lawfull Inheritor to the possession of the Kingdome to him appertayning.

What doeth our Katherine? se how step by step she followeth this patern and example of all mischiefe: Nay marke how in parte she doeth surmount hir. The King hir Sonne is at the point of death. It semeth the King of Poleland cannot cum tyme anough aswell by reason of his sickenesse, as through the longnes of the way: She will in no wise forsake the gouernment but by cum extraordinary meanes whatsoeuer, will

ſtill keip it in hir owen handes.

If ſhe aſſembleth the eſtates that thay may prouyde, ſhe knoweth thay haue to cuill an opinion of hir, and according to equitie, thay will cõmit the ſame to my Lord the Duke, as nixt of the blood and the late Kingis Lieutennant generall. Hauing thairfore ſubtilly diffamed, & through hir ſclanders maid him odious to all men, ſhe impriſoneth him and the King of Nauarre, ſeiking meanes alſo to intrap the Prince of Conde: and for that ſhee knoweth that the cheif officers of the Crowne can not in hart allow theſe hir moſt miſcheuous dealingis, and douteth that thay will indeuour to delyuer the Princes out of hir handis, ſhe commandeth the Lordis of Ioyeuſe, Maugeron, and Furquenaux, to ſeaſe vpon the Marſhall de Anuill, either dead or in lyfe, whileſt that ſhe employeth him for the pacifying of his gouernment. Euen at the ſame inſtant that thay ſuld haue diſpatched this mater, ſhe ſeaſed vpon the Lordis of Mommorency and Coſſe: And the better to bring them into hatred, ſhe publiſhed that thay had conſpired. But as it was Gods will that the interpriſe againſt the Marſhall de Anuill, was in tyme diſcouered, euẽ ſo (if it pleaſe him) ſhe ſall not be able to practiſe hir wicked intent againſt the reſt.

To what end is Brunehault, after ſo many cruelties, treaſons, parricides, and vngodlynes cum? Clothair maigre hir might attaineth the Croun, all the Eſtatis (as it were) vpon thair ſhoulders, do cary him to his Throne.

Brunehaultes proces is openly maid by the aſſembly of the Eſtates: and finally by all mens

consent, euerie one pronouncing the sentence which in his harte he had giuen against hir long before, she is drawin at a horse tayle, seuen vntill she finished hir wicked life, and so was torne in peces. Now let euery man iudge what sentence our Katherine deserueth, who in one daye hath caused to murther more men, wemen and children, then did Brunehault in al hir warres. I dare assure my selfe that thair is no man who in hart giueth not more sharp Iudgement against hir, then this is: But I do protest that I desire vengeance against hir, of none but God, vnto whome only it appertayneth, who at his appointed time, can chastise hir for such euillis as she hath committed against both the common wealth, and all vs particularly: Only I beseche that Clothair may be receiued to his right, that our King may lawfully raigne, that our Princes and Lordes may be deliuered out of hir bloudy handis, and that he to whome the Regiment doth appertaine may be therein established, to the end he may remeid such euillis as already she hath committed, and preuent all those that be behind.

To this so holy and laudable an enterprise, the Royall race, my Lordis the Princes of the blood, out of which you be extraight, do inuite you. Suffer therefore no longer the lifes of these pure Princes, to remayne at hir discretion, who doeth bath hir self in your blood: Incur not this dishonor, that strangers, who in no respect do belong to them, suld shew thē selues more bent to thair deliuerance then you.

Vnto this worke, ye Lordis and French gentlemen, your duties and honours do call you: your

beare not armes for nothing: they ought to tend to the health of your Princes, your countrey, & your selues. Permit not therefore your Princes to be esclaues, neither the cheif officers of this Crowne, for thair only good will which all men do knowe that thay beare to the conseruation thairof, be in danger of thair liues: neither your selues daylie to be put furth to the death for the satisfying of the vengeable appetite of one woman. Let vs acknowledge that, notwithstanding any difference of Religion among vs, yet we be all Frenchemen, the lawfull Children of one only countrie, borne in one Realme, and subiect to one King: and let Brunehault no longer put into our heades, to the end we may one slay an other, that our brethren be bastardis, illegitimate, and no trew Frenchmen: and so as you se, in the end bring vs all to death one after an other.

Let vs therefore all marche togidder, with one hart and peace: all I say, of all Estates and conditions, Gentilmen, Burgesses, and Peasantes: and constraine hir to restore our Princes and Lordis to libertie. Vnto you my Lordis of Paris is presented the occasion of attayning to this honour: let thairfore no man preuent you. Your Cietie is the head of this Realme, and the seate of our Kings and Princes: will you thairfore suffer them to be prisoners within your wallis? Shall thay who so long haue mainteyned your liberties, be now kept in Captiuitie, in any place where you be able to delyuer them? Shall Brunehault haue recourse to you, and Clothair remaine prisoner? Therefy you will permit no

suche

luche thing. God through his singulare prouidence, hath caused hir to bring them into a place of Sanctuarie, when neuertheles she thought to bring them to prison: For I know well, you will remember your auncient renowne, you will tak your weapons, you will go straight to the prison wherein she holdeth them, and you will snatch them out of the handis of this accursed Brunehault. Also, that no inclosure, wall, gate, or garde sall hinder or slacken this interprise, worthie of true Frenchmen and auncient citizens of Paris. Thus sall thase pure Princes acknowledge thair liues of you; you sall for euer bind this Realme to your Cietie. All Christendome sall commend the singular affection which you do beare to the blood of your Kingis: and the posteritie sal perpetually celebrate so famous, commendable and holy a deid, being aboue all vther, most worthy of euerlasting memorie.

FINIS.